FLAVIAN POETRY

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PREFACE

'Flavian poetry' is not a category often employed in classical scholarship, and there are good reasons for that. First, Flavian poetry (i.e. the poetry written under the Flavian emperors, Vespasian, Titus and Domitian, 69–96 CE) is mostly—and rightly—seen as continuous with earlier and later post-Augustan or "silver" Latin poetry, such as that of Lucan written under Nero or that of Juvenal written under Trajan and Hadrian (not to speak of prose) Another reason is that the corpus of (non-dramatic) Flavian poetry is rather disparate: fragments apart, it consists of the epics of Valerius Flaccus, Silius Italicus and Statius, the *Silvae* of the same Statius, and most of the *Epigrams* of Martial. In spite of this, we organised an international colloquium on Flavian poetry (the first ever, as far as we are aware) at the University of Groningen from 19–23 August 2003, considering that "silver" poetry as such was too large a topic to be manageable, and that, on the other hand, it might be worthwhile to bring together specialists on the various genres of Flavian poetry, which after all were written within the same cultural context. The chapters in this volume are revised versions of papers delivered at that conference.

We are grateful to a number of institutions and people. The colloquium was generously sponsored by the Council for the Humanities of the Netherlands Organization for Scientific Research (NWO), the Royal Netherlands Academy of Arts and Sciences (KNAW), the Dutch National Graduate School in Classical Studies (OIKOS), the Groningen Research Institute for the Study of Culture (ICOG), and the Groningen University Fund (GUF). Inez van Egeraat and a number of other Groningen Classics undergraduates provided friendly and efficient assistance with the organisation of the conference. Regine Reincke at Brill applied the right mix of patience and pressure (of both of which we stood in need). In the final stages we could count on the speedy and expert assistance of Wim Remmelink in making the manuscript ready for publication; he also compiled the index of passages.

Groningen / Amsterdam, October 2005

Ruurd R. Nauta
Harm-Jan van Dam
Johannes J. L. Smolenaars

ABBREVIATIONS

Greek authors and works are abbreviated according to the system of LSJ, Latin authors and works according to that of *OLD*; for Latin authors and works not included in *OLD* readily understandable abbreviations have been chosen, preferably based on those of *TLL*.

In addition, the following may be noted:

AE	*L'année épigraphique*
ANRW	*Aufstieg und Niedergang der römischen Welt*, ed. H. Temporini et al., Berlin 1972–
CLE	F. Bücheler and E. Lommatzsch (eds.), *Carmina Latina epigraphica*, Leipzig 1895–1926
CIL	*Corpus inscriptionum Latinarum*, Berlin 1863–
FPL^3	*Fragmenta poetarum Latinorum epicorum et lyricorum praeter Ennium et Lucilium*, 3rd edition ed. by J. Blänsdorf, Stuttgart and Leipzig 1995
FLP	E. Courtney (ed.), *The Fragmentary Latin Poets*, Oxford 1993 (2nd edition with addenda 2003).
HE	A. S. F. Gow and D. L. Page (eds.), *The Greek Anthology: Hellenistic epigrams*, Cambridge 1965
ICUR	G. de Rossi (ed.), *Inscriptiones christianae Urbis Romae septimo saeculo antiquiores*, 1, Rome, 1857–61.
IG	*Inscriptiones Graecae*, Berlin 1873–
ILS	H. Dessau (ed.), *Inscriptiones Latinae selectae*, Berlin 1892–1916
LSJ	H. G. Liddell, R. Scott, and H. Stuart Jones, *A Greek-English Lexicon*, Oxford 1940^9
OLD	*Oxford Latin Dictionary*, Oxford 1982
PIR^2	*Prosopographia imperii Romani saeculi I, II, III*, 2nd edition, Berlin 1933–
RAC	*Reallexikon für Antike und Christentum*, Stuttgart 1941–
RE	*Real-Encyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft*, Stuttgart and Munich, 1894–1980
TLL	*Thesaurus linguae Latinae*, Leipzig 1900–

1. QUINTILIAN AND THE PERCEPTION OF THE SYSTEM OF POETIC GENRES IN THE FLAVIAN AGE

Mario Citroni

Studies on Quintilian frequently contain the affirmation that we cannot consider the survey of Greek and Latin writers found in Book 10 of the *Institutio oratoria* as a chapter of literary criticism, properly speaking: we must realise—it is said—that this is a list which was created for the specific purposes of the teaching of rhetoric. The broad correspondence of the list of Greek authors with the one that was found in *De imitatione*, by Dionysius of Halicarnassus,[1] which had the same purpose, seems to offer unequivocal confirmation of the fact that this survey belongs to an academic tradition, in which words of advice about books to read, together with judgements and comments, correspond to the precise educational purpose of pointing out the elements in every author which could be useful for the improvement of rhetorical style. In the case of the list of Latin authors, it is recognised that, in the absence of Greek sources, it probably reflects more authentically the attitudes and judgements of Quintilian and of the culture of his time, although the purpose remains unchanged. It is admitted by some scholars that the survey also includes reading advice and judgements which go beyond the mere purpose of the development of rhetorical style, and reveal a more specifically literary interest, or broader aims of a general cultural education; however, these concessions, which are

[1] It was long believed that Dionysius was the direct source of Quintilian's survey, up to Claussen 1872–3. Since Usener 1889 argued for the independence of Quintilian from Dionysius, and the derivation of both works from a common source going back to the Alexandrian canons, a huge debate has developed, together with the question of the origin and the history of the canons. During the course of this debate, there has been a gradual recognition of a greater space for an autonomous elaboration by Quintilian: the divergences from Dionysius do not exclude the possibility that Quintilian may have made a direct use of his work, integrating it with other sources, both Greek and Roman (including above all Cicero) and with the contributions of his own experience as a Roman reader and intellectual. This is the direction above all of Peterson 1891; Cousin 1935; Tavernini 1953. All the elements to reconstruct the history of the problem, together with a rich bibliography, can be found in Nicolai 1992, 251–322 and especially 320–1. Cf. also Rutherford 1998, 40–2.

generally expressed rather grudgingly,[2] are not sufficient to give the survey the character of a reliable testimony to the general opinion of educated people of the period, as regards the values attributed to the works of Greek and Latin literary tradition, or to the overall system of literary genres, irrespective of the specific aim of the development of a better rhetorical style.

It is undoubtedly true that this educational objective is the basic aim behind the whole discussion, and that the judgements expressed by Quintilian on the single authors are formulated mainly, though not exclusively, for this purpose. However, I do not believe that the same can be said about the choice of the authors in the list: in my opinion, the list includes, as a rule, those authors who were considered to be most prestigious in the culture of the time, and for each of them, Quintilian gives the reader his opinion about his usefulness for the creation of the rhetorical style. Otherwise, it would not be possible to explain the presence of various authors who, according to Quintilian's explicit statements, are of no use for the orator.[3]

This is the case with Theocritus, who is defined as *admirabilis in suo genere*, "admirable in his own genre", but who is totally unrelated to the world of tribunals, and indeed, to the whole world of the city, where tribunals are situated: … *sed Musa illa rustica et pastoralis non forum modo uerum ipsam etiam urbem reformidat*, "but that rustic, pastoral Muse of his does not dare to venture into the forum, or even into the city" (*Inst.* 10.1.55). And this is also the case with Aratus, who—according to Quintilian—does not possess any movement or variety, does not give any space to the representation of emotions or characters, or to speeches, and consequently has none of the qualities

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[2] Exceptions are rare: Cova 1990 (especially 31–43), a somewhat disjointed study, which contains elements that cannot always be accepted, claims quite appropriately that in this section of Quintilian's work, there is a more general literary interest, and tries to distinguish between the judgements which are more directly conditioned by the objective of training for the orator and those which are more specifically literary criticism; within the framework of an interesting appeal to the modern movement "Law and Literature", underlining the need to introduce a broad cultural and literary training into the preparation of workers in the field of justice, Taekema 2003 insists forcefully, though without going into details, on the various reasons for a general cultural preparation which are at the basis of Quintilian's recommendations for reading. On the contrary, Schneider 1983, 118, attributes to Quintilian's survey the limited function of offering examples that the student of rhetoric can imitate whenever a suitable occasion occurs.

[3] The question is briefly touched upon in Cousin 1935, 572; Cova 1990, 41.

which would be useful for the training of an orator: *Arati materia motu caret, ut in qua nulla uarietas, nullus adfectus, nulla persona, nulla cuiusquam sit oratio*, "Aratus' subject lacks movement: there is no variety in it, no emotion, no character, nobody who makes a speech" (*ibid.*); his merits all lie within the limited field of the genre that he has chosen, considering it suitable for his limited ability: *sufficit tamen operi cui se aequalem credidit*, "and yet he possesses sufficient qualities for the work for which he thought he was equal" (*ibid.*). Among the Latin poets, Varro Atacinus is explicitly defined as *ad augendam facultatem dicendi parum locuples*, "of limited use for the development of rhetorical skills" (*Inst.* 10.1.87), and so Quintilian's concession of the meagre qualification of *non spernendus*, "not to be despised", is clearly restricted to the genre of his writing, and not to the purposes of training in rhetoric. As regards Aemilius Macer and Lucretius, Quintilian says that they deserve to be read because they are *elegantes in sua quisque materia*, "elegant in the way they deal with the subject they have chosen", but that they are of no use for the development of rhetorical style: *legendi ... sed non ut phrasin, id est corpus eloquentiae faciant*, "they are worth reading, but not in order to form style, which is the body of eloquence" (*ibid.*).[4] The Latin comic poets, too, are quoted, it would appear, more in order to warn the orator not to take them as models than to advise him to read them, seeing that they are introduced with a judgement of severe condemnation: *in comoedia maxime claudicamus*, "comedy is the genre where we are most lame" (*Inst.* 10.1.99); only in the case of Terence is it stated that he is, at least, the most elegant of them (*ibid.*).

I have listed here the cases in which Quintilian openly excludes any advantage for the orator in reading the poets that he mentions, but it is also worth reflecting on the numerous cases of poets that he includes in the list without any indication of their qualities, or any reference to their usefulness for the orator: for some of these, the reason for their usefulness may be easy to guess, in view of their high language, stylistic elegance, sententiousness, etc. (this is the case with Tyrtaeus, Pisander, Callimachus and Philetas).[5] However, we are left wondering what use there might be, for the purposes of the training of the orator,

---

4 Quintilian mentions these two poets together also in *Inst.* 12.11.27, where he states that they deserved to be considered *optimi* in their period, but subsequently they were clearly surpassed by Virgil.

5 Quint. *Inst.* 10.1.57 (Tyrtaeus), 56 (Pisander), 58 (Callimachus and Philetas).

in reading Nicander or Euphorion,[6] rather than Aratus or Aemilius Macer, for whom this usefulness is expressly excluded.

Evidently, Quintilian believed that certain authors could not be left out of his survey in view of their prestige, regardless of their direct usefulness for the purposes of the training of the orator. Furthermore, the training purpose that he sets himself, as expressed in the introductory paragraphs of the survey,[7] is fairly wide-ranging: by means of his readings, the orator who has already achieved a technical preparation must master the infinite variety of shades of meaning that lexis, images, metaphors and techniques of expression may contain in the most disparate contexts. For this reason, his readings can obviously not be limited to a selection of texts considered closest to rhetorical techniques. In line with these principles, therefore, I believe that the criterion followed is that of including in the survey all the authors considered to be most prestigious and most representative of the various genres, underlining, case by case, the greater or lesser degree of usefulness of each of them for the purposes of the improvement of rhetorical style.

The distinction that I am proposing here, between the criterion for the selection of authors and the criterion which inspired Quintilian's judgements, allows us to assign to his list a greater value as a testimony to those writers considered prestigious in his period.[8] It is true that at the beginning of his survey, Quintilian makes the introductory announcement ... *nunc genera ipsa lectionum, quae praecipue conuenire intendentibus ut oratores fiant existimem, persequor*, "now I will review the kinds of readings that I consider to be particularly suitable for anyone who intends to become an orator" (*Inst.* 10.1.45), but *genera lectionum* here indicates the most useful "genres" and "kinds of readings", and not the most useful "writers": and in actual fact, Quintilian excludes from his survey the genres of lesser prestige, such as the epigram, fable, novel, or mime, whereas for the genres of greater prestige, he indicates the authors that are best-known and most appre-

6 Quint. *Inst.* 10.1.56.

7 Quint. *Inst.* 10.1–36, and in particular 5–15.

8 This distinction between criteria for the selection of authors and criteria for the judgements on the single authors is briefly touched upon, from the opposite viewpoint, in Peterson 1891, xxxv; Steinmetz 1964; Taekema 2003, 260–1: they believe that Quintilian's list reflects the traditional Hellenistic canons, whereas the judgements aiming to train the orator are his personal contribution.

ciated, with an indication, where he deems it appropriate, of their greater or lesser usefulness for the orator. This is also the procedure that Dionysius of Halicarnassus stated that he had adopted in his *De imitatione*:

> Ἐν τοῖς προεκδοθεῖσι περὶ τῆς μιμήσεως ὑπομνηματισμοῖς ἐπεληλυθὼς οὓς ὑπελάμβανον ἐπιφανεστάτους εἶναι ποιητάς τε καὶ συγγραφεῖς … καὶ δεδηλωκὼς ἐν ὀλίγοις τίνας ἕκαστος αὐτῶν εἰσφέρεται πραγματικάς τε καὶ λεκτικὰς ἀρετάς, καὶ πῇ μάλιστα χείρων ἑαυτοῦ γίνεται …
>
> (D.H. *Th.* 1.1)
>
> In my treatise on imitation, which has already been published, where I reviewed the poets and prose-writers that I considered to be most famous … and I pointed out briefly the merits of content and form that each of them presents, and where, instead, they are clearly below their standard …

In Quintilian's survey, too, as in the section of the work by Dionysius compiled for the same purpose, which was probably his main model, the authors listed are the ones that he considered to be most famous in the significant genres, and he briefly indicates the greater or lesser contribution that each of them offers for the purposes of the improvement of rhetorical style.[9]

The case in which this *modus operandi* on the part of Quintilian can best be seen is that of the Greek tragedians:

> Tragoedias primus in lucem Aeschylus protulit, sublimis et grauis et grandilocus saepe usque ad uitium, sed rudis in plerisque et incompositus … Sed longe clarius inlustrauerunt hoc opus Sophocles atque Euripides, quorum … uter sit poeta melior inter plurimos quaeritur. Idque ego sane, quoniam ad praesentem materiam nihil pertinet, iniudicatum relinquo. Illud quidem nemo non fateatur necesse est, iis qui se ad agendum comparant utiliorem longe fore Euripiden.
>
> (Quint. *Inst.* 10.1.66–8)
>
> The first who brought tragedy to light was Aeschylus, sublime, intense and grandiloquent, often excessively so, but in many respects rough and disharmonious … But Sophocles and Euripides gave this genre a far greater splendour. There are endless discussions about which of these two … is the better poet. As far as I am concerned, I will leave the

[9] On the contrary, this distinction does not appear in the very brief indication of the contents of Book 2 of his *De imitatione* which Dionysius gives in *Pomp.* 3.1: ὁ δὲ δεύτερος περὶ τοῦ τίνας ἄνδρας μιμεῖσθαι δεῖ ποιητάς τε καὶ φιλοσόφους, ἱστοριογράφους <τε> καὶ ῥήτορας.

> question open, seeing that it has no connection with the present subject. But everybody must necessarily admit that for the person who is preparing to become an orator, Euripides is far more useful.

Quintilian not only starts, as is obvious, from the canonical triad of Aeschylus, Sophocles and Euripides, that is to say, from a selection based on a most ancient tradition which was clearly not connected in any way with rhetorical or didactic purposes,[10] but he also starts from another, more recent critical tradition dealing with a scale of priorities within the triad, this too probably unconnected with any aims of rhetorical training. Quintilian seems to consider that there is a general consensus of opinion as regards the inferiority of Aeschylus compared with Sophocles and Euripides,[11] though he admits that the priority between the latter two is the subject of an open, controversial debate. It is only at this point that Quintilian adopts the specific point of view of the objective of training for the orator, and he states that the question of the priority between Sophocles and Euripides is actually irrelevant for the purposes of his treatise, because this question has nothing to do with their usefulness for the orator: from this point of view, there can be no discussion, seeing that the superiority of Euripides for the purposes of the improvement of rhetorical style is clearly apparent.

Also in the case of the other main genres of Greek poetry (epic, iambic, lyric and comedy), Quintilian starts from canons that had been established undoubtedly not for any rhetorical purposes (namely the canons established by the Hellenistic critics), and points out the various opportunities that the various authors provide for the improvement of rhetorical style.

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[10] Already, as is known, the *Frogs* by Aristophanes presupposes that Aeschylus, Sophocles and Euripides were considered by the current public opinion of the period to be the most prestigious tragic authors: cf. Kroehnert 1897, 24–5; Körte 1934, 9–10.

[11] Quintilian's severe judgement on the style of Aeschylus is somewhat surprising. It is true that similar opinions about the latter's unpolished style can be found in D.H. *Comp.* 22 and *Dem.* 38, but these are expressed positively, as characteristics that are typical of αὐστερὰ ἁρμονία, and his style is praised unreservedly in D.H. *Imit.* 6.2.10 (p. 206 U.-R.) and in D.Chr. 52 (who also believes that Euripides is more useful for the orator: 52.11). A greater affinity with the criticism of Quintilian can be found in the judgement expressed in Περὶ ὕψους 15.5. In reality, the origin of this characterisation of Aeschylus as excessively majestic and rough can already be seen outside rhetorical tradition in the *Frogs* by Aristophanes, which offers a most lively testimony to it, albeit within the framework of a σύγκρισις with Euripides in which, in accordance with the particular viewpoint of Aristophanes, the more recent tragedian was the loser.

It is usually taken for granted that Quintilian's survey of Greek authors is based on Greek sources, but while, in the case of the pre-Hellenistic poets, it is easy to recognise the main source either as Dionysius himself or as a source that is common to both Dionysius and Quintilian and that was largely based on the Alexandrian canons, scholars have not succeeded in indicating a possible source as regards the Hellenistic and late-Hellenistic poets: these are included in large numbers in Quintilian's survey, but they were not present in the Alexandrian canons or in Dionysius' *De imitatione*. In reality, the criterion for the selection of Hellenistic poets appears to me to be quite clear: Quintilian includes in his survey those poets who, regardless of their usefulness for the training of orators, which in some cases, as we have seen, is explicitly denied, enjoyed the greatest prestige in Rome, seeing that they had been taken as models by great Latin poets. The Hellenistic poets mentioned by Quintilian comprise: the writers of hexameters Apollonius Rhodius, Aratus, Theocritus, Nicander and Euphorion; the elegiac poets Callimachus and Philetas; and the representatives of new comedy: Menander, who had been the subject of studies by Aristophanes of Byzantium, and who is also present in Dionysius,[12] and Philemon.[13] The fact that the criterion which Quintilian follows in his selection of these names is that of the prestige they enjoy with the Roman literary public is explicitly stated in the cases of Nicander and Euphorion: he says that their value as poets (clearly not as models for an orator) is guaranteed by the fact that the former was taken as a model by Aemilius Macer and Virgil, and the latter was praised by Virgil in the *Eclogues*.[14] Their prestige as poets, guaranteed by other poets, not by rhetoricians, is the reason why they are included in Quintilian's list. Furthermore, the names of Nicander and Euphorion are not included in any of the Greek lists of epic poets known to us. On the contrary, Apollonius Rhodius, Aratus and Theocritus are occasionally included:[15] but it is clear that Quintilian did not need any

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[12] We shall deal with this below. It is not clear from our sources whether there was a true Alexandrian canon of new comedy: Kroehnert 1897, 28–9.

[13] Quint. *Inst.* 10.1.56 (hexameters), 58 (elegy), 69–72 (new comedy).

[14] Quint. *Inst.* 10.1.56 *Quid? Nicandrum frustra secuti Macer atque Vergilius? Quid? Euphorionem transibimus? Quem nisi probasset Vergilius idem, numquam certe conditorum Chalcidico uersu carminum fecisset in Bucolicis mentionem.*

[15] Cf. Kroehnert 1897, 19–21.

Greek catalogues to recommend poets whose prestige in Latin tradition had been so impressively recognised.

In the cases of Philetas and Callimachus, though their names appear in the late Greek lists of elegiac poets, it is not necessary to imagine that Quintilian consulted a Greek list which included them,[16] given the considerable importance attributed to these two poets by Propertius as tutelars of elegiac poetry.[17] Also in the case of Statius, Callimachus and Philetas are the only two Greek writers included in his integrated Greek and Latin canon of great elegiac poets.[18]

The other Greek poets mentioned by Quintilian, but not by Dionysius, are the epic poet Pisander, the authors of ancient comedy, and Tyrtaeus. As regards ancient comedy, Quintilian maintains the triad of Aristophanes, Eupolis and Cratinus, consecrated by Horace.[19] As for Tyrtaeus, Quintilian quotes a verse from Horace's *Ars poetica* as confirmation of his excellence. And it is certain that he was led by Horace, and not by a Greek source, to include Tyrtaeus in his survey, seeing that he does not place him among the elegiac poets, but among the epic writers, because, as he himself says, Horace had placed him beside Homer.[20]

It is certainly not my intention to deny that Quintilian may have based his survey partly on Greek lists more recent than the canons of Aristophanes and Aristarchus which he himself mentions. We have already seen that he refers to Greek debates about the priority among the three tragedians. Pisander, who is incongruously placed by Quin-

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[16] This is the thesis of Körte 1934, 11, n. 1; it is probable, however, that the Byzantine lists which include these two poets presuppose previous lists, which undoubtedly supplemented with more recent names even more ancient lists that excluded Hellenistic poets, though in actual fact we do not possess any testimonies to an Alexandrian list of elegiac poets: Kroehnert 1897, 30.

[17] Prop. 2.34.31–2 and especially 3.1.1.

[18] Stat. *Silv.* 1.2.252–3. As regards the prestige of these two elegiac writers, Quintilian refers to a widely held opinion (*princeps habetur Callimachus … secundas confessione plurimorum Philetas occupauit*, *Inst.* 10.1.58): this opinion may have been common both in the Greek and in the Latin environment.

[19] Quint. *Inst.* 10.1.66. Horace's famous verse, *S.* 1.4.1, is for us the most ancient testimony to this triad, which is subsequently repeated in several sources, both Latin and Greek: Kroehnert 1897, 26–7, n. 1.

[20] Quint. *Inst.* 10.1.57. I believe that here Quintilian is consciously flouting the consistency of his survey under the influence of Horace's passage (*Ars* 407). Others think that Quintilian misunderstood Horace's passage, and as he had never read Tyrtaeus, thought he was an epic poet: Körte 1934, 6, n. 2; Steinmetz 1964, 460, n. 1.; Russell 2001, 248, 281, n. 59 is doubtful about this.

tilian among the Hellenistic writers of minor epic genres, as a kind of appendix,[21] was probably not included in the Alexandrian canon,[22] and is not present in Dionysius, but he appears in Proclus, and he undoubtedly comes to Quintilian from a Greek source. As regards the lyric poets, it is known that of the nine poets included in the Alexandrian canon, Quintilian includes the same four (Pindar, Stesichorus, Simonides and Alcaeus) who are present also in Dionysius' *De imitatione*: this coincidence cannot be casual, and should be considered, together with the numerous convergences in their judgements on various authors, to be conclusive evidence that Quintilian knew Dionysius, or used a source that he also had used.[23] In reality, Quintilian "Romanises" also his list of lyric poets, seeing that for two of them, Pindar and Alcaeus, he explicitly quotes the judgements expressed by Horace; however, it must be admitted that in a list of Greek lyric poets destined for the Roman public, the absence of Sappho is anomalous, in view of the influence she had on Catullus.

With the exceptions of the absence of Sappho (as in Dionysius) and the presence of Pisander (see above) and Panyassis (whose presence in the Alexandrian canon is clearly alluded to by Quintilian, and whose name is also found in Dionysius' *De imitatione*),[24] I would say that none of the many other coincidences between Quintilian's selection and those that are known to us from a variety of Greek sources are in contradiction with the idea that the Greek poets mentioned by Quintilian are also the best-known and probably the most widely read in Rome, regardless of rhetorical training purposes.

But without doubt, the most striking case of convergence between the list of leading writers compiled in the "academic" environment by Greek grammarians and rhetoricians and the actual prestige enjoyed by the Greek poets with the Roman public is Menander. It has been noted that both in Dionysius and in Quintilian, the survey of Greek

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21 Quint. *Inst.* 10.1.56.

22 Kroehnert 1897, 19–20. Steinmetz 1964, 463, n. 5, on the contrary, believes that Pisander was included in the Alexandrian canon, and was shifted by Quintilian, on his own initiative, among the secondary epic writers. But we must bear in mind that Pisander is not present in Dionysius.

23 Quint. *Inst.* 10.1.61–4; cf. D.H. *Imit.* 6.2.5–8 (p. 204–5 U.-R.). Strangely, Steinmetz 1964, 463, n. 5, considers the selection of these four lyric poets to be the fruit of a personal choice by Quintilian, and also Tavernini 1953, 25–6 thinks that this might be an independent choice of the four lyric poets most suitable for rhetoric.

24 Quint. *Inst.* 10.1.54; D.H. *Imit.* 6.2.4 (p. 204 U.-R.).

poets begins with Homer and ends with Menander, and that both in Dionysius and in Quintilian, Menander is presented immediately after Euripides: coincidences which obviously cannot be fortuitous.[25] It should be added that in Quintilian, the final position of Menander is even more notable than in Dionysius, seeing that Quintilian had already dealt with comedy in a previous section, only including the authors of *archaia*:[26] Menander is presented here, separately from the other comic writers, as the great heir of Euripides, and the treatment he receives is only a little shorter than the discussion dedicated at the beginning to Homer, and consequently far more extensive than the treatment dedicated to all the other poets in the review. No less worthy of note, in my opinion, is another analogy, which I believe can be added, between the presentation of Homer and that of Menander in Quintilian: Menander, at the end of the survey, like Homer at the beginning, is separated from all the other poets, partly because they are the only ones who are said to offer, by themselves, the model of everything that an orator needs. We do not know whether this emphasis on Menander was also present in the work of Dionysius: in the extant epitome, only three or four words are dedicated to Menander, which is less than we find for any of the other poets mentioned, and his final position has less relevance as a result of the lack of a separate discussion of comedy in a previous section of the survey. At all events, this association of Homer and Menander as the two outstanding exponents, or, if you prefer, the alpha and the omega of Greek poetry, clearly originated in Greek academic criticism, and in particular in the famous evaluation of Aristophanes of Byzantium, who had judged Menander to be second only to Homer.

At the same time, however, the association of Homer and Menander was commonly present in the educated public opinion, and, I would say, in the customs of Quintilian's Rome. I will limit myself to pointing out three significant facts in this sense:

i) Some herms coming from Roman villas are extant in which the portraits of Homer and Menander appear side by side, and on one of these, which is datable between the end of the first and the second century and may have belonged to Claudius Aelianus, the well-known

[25] Quint. *Inst.* 10.1.46–51 (Homer), 69–72 (Menander); D.H. *Imit.* 6.2.1, p. 204 U.-R. (Homer), 6.2.11, p. 207 U.-R. (Menander). Cf. Steinmetz 1964, 457–8.

[26] Quint. *Inst.* 10.1.66.

author of the *Historia animalium* and *Varia historia*, an epigraph in verse quotes the famous judgement of Aristophanes of Byzantium.[27]
ii) In his epicedium for the young Glaucias, Statius recalls the occasions when he recited poetry in front of his parents and teachers: the texts that he recited were passages by Menander and Homer:

> … seu Graius amictu
> Attica facundi decurreret orsa Menandri … 114
> …
> Maeonium siue ille senem Troiaeque labores 118
> diceret aut casus tarde remeantis Vlixis
>
> (*Silv.* 2.1.113–9)

> … whether, in Greek dress, he declaimed the Attic speeches of the eloquent Menander … or he recited the old Maeonian, and Troy's labours, and the adventures of Ulysses belated in his return …

iii) Martial's list of books proposed as gifts in the *Apophoreta* includes only two Greek poets: Homer (Mart. 14.183 and 184) and Menander (Mart. 14.87), as has been pointed out by Licia Pini, a student of mine who is publishing a study in which she shows the connections between this list of products on the popular Saturnalian book market and the "academic" lists of Quintilian and others. And we shall see further on that in another epigram Martial mentions Homer and Menander, one next to the other, as two leading figures, unequivocally, in Greek poetry.

In this case, the convergence between academic criticism and the common perception of the cultivated Roman public does not refer only to an evaluation of the quality of certain authors, but it implies a general idea of the structure of the literary system: the idea, already found in Plato, of a fundamental bipartition of poetry into tragic poetry and comic poetry. Plato considered Homer and Epicharmus, respectively, to be the leading representatives of these two fundamental forms.[28] The concept had been taken over by Aristotle, with the excep-

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[27] *IG* 14.1183.10–5 (= Ar. Byz. T 9 Slater). It was thanks to this epigraph that it was possible to recognise with certainty that the portrait placed together with Homer in other similar herms is that of Menander (Körte 1936: previously, scholars had doubted that it could be Menander, precisely because the juxtaposition of the comic poet to Homer appeared to be senseless). As regards the possibility of identifying the owner of the herm, and perhaps the author of the epigram, as the author of *Varia historia*, cf. Bowie 1989, 244–7.

[28] Pl. *Tht.* 152e … τῶν ποιητῶν οἱ ἄκροι τῆς ποιήσεως ἑκατέρας, κωμῳδίας μὲν Επίχαρμος, τραγῳδίας δὲ Ὅμηρος …

tion that he saw Homer as the main exponent of both the fundamental forms, respectively in his epic poems and in the *Margites*.[29] When the non-authenticity of the *Margites* was established, it was necessary to identify an autonomous emblematic representative of the comic genre, and this role was assigned to Menander.[30]

Also the series of Latin poets found in Quintilian, like that of the Greek poets, should, in my opinion, be considered not as a product closed in its limited didactic purpose, but as an important testimony to the perception of Latin poetic production, and of the entire system of poetic genres, that existed in the Flavian age.

Latin poetic production, too, had been organised, within a critical tradition that culminated with Varro, into limited canons of authors judged to be the leading exponents of the various genres. This work of canonisation had followed the model of the Alexandrian canons, in a framework of emulative correspondences between the Roman and Greek production. For Cicero, and for Varro, it was clear that Rome had its Homer in Ennius, its triad of tragedians in Ennius, Pacuvius and Accius, and its series of great comic writers in Plautus, Caecilius and Terence, with the addition of Afranius and others, as well as its own original author in Lucilius.[31] Cicero does not appear to worry about the lack of prestigious Latin authors in other genres which appear to him to be secondary, such as lyric, elegiac, iambic or epigrammatic poetry: on the contrary, he displays his conviction that thanks to this limited series of outstanding authors, Rome has conquered a complete equality with Greece in poetry, and must strive to achieve it in other fields of cultural activity as yet not covered: philosophy and historiography.[32] The Varronian-Ciceronian canon of leading poets was still rigorously respected by academic critics at the

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[29] Arist. *Po.* 1448b ὥσπερ δὲ καὶ τὰ σπουδαῖα μάλιστα ποιητὴς Ὅμηρος ἦν … οὕτω καὶ τὰ τῆς κωμῳδίας σχήματα πρῶτος ὑπέδειξεν, οὐ ψόγον ἀλλὰ τὸ γελοῖον δραματοποιήσας. Ὁ γὰρ Μαργίτης ἀνάλογον ἔχει, ὥσπερ Ἰλιὰς καὶ ἡ Ὀδύσσεια πρὸς τὰς τραγῳδίας, οὕτω καὶ οὗτος πρὸς τὰς κωμῳδίας.

[30] Other reasons, which I find less convincing, for the juxtaposition of Menander to Homer are advanced by De Falco 1930, 207; Pfeiffer 1968, 190–1; Barigazzi 1965, 228–9. Also the juxtaposition of Homer and Menander in Cic. *Fin.* 7 and *Opt. Gen.* 6 (brought to my attention by Licia Pini) is significant for the interpretation that I offer.

[31] On this question I refer readers to what I wrote in Citroni 2001, 291–9; 2003a. Cf. also the basic research carried out by Dahlmann 1953; 1962, and the brief discussion of Steinmetz 1982, 14–9.

[32] Cf. Citroni 2003b.

time of Horace's letter to Augustus,[33] that is to say, several years after the death of Virgil, in spite of the rapid achievement of a position of prestige by the Augustan poets, who had decided to substitute that canon with a series of more modern works, and to supplement it in the genres that were still not covered.[34]

It would appear to me to be highly worthy of note that in spite of all his veneration for Cicero, Quintilian openly dismissed from his survey the canon for which Cicero had expressed his great pride; in actual fact, this continued to enjoy a certain prestige among academic critics, and contemporary archaicists, who for this reason were criticised by Martial, as we shall shortly see. Quintilian refers marginally to Ennius in his series of epic poets, after Virgil, Aemilius Macer, Lucretius and Varro Atacinus, and before Ovid and a series of more recent epic writers, only to say that he deserves a religious respect for his antiquity, but no attention for his beauty:

> Ennium sicut sacros uetustate lucos adoremus, in quibus grandia et antiqua robora iam non tantam habent speciem quantam religionem. Propiores alii atque ad hoc de quo loquimur magis utiles.
>
> (Quint. *Inst.* 10.1.88)

> Let us venerate Ennius for his antiquity, as we do with the sacred woods, where great and ancient oak-trees do not inspire so much admiration for their beauty as a religious reverence. There are other more recent authors, who are more useful for the subject under discussion.

He recognises that Accius and Pacuvius possess significant merits: *grauitas*, *auctoritas*, *uires* and *doctrina*, but he considers them as belonging to a world of the past, which knew nothing of the qualities of formal refinement that are required today, and are therefore unsuitable to be models for the present:

> Tragoediae scriptores ueterum Accius atque Pacuuius clarissimi grauitate sententiarum, uerborum pondere, auctoritate personarum. Ceterum nitor et summa in excolendis operibus manus magis uideri potest temporibus quam ipsis defuisse: uirium tamen Accio plus tribuitur, Pacuuium uideri doctiorem qui esse docti adfectant uolunt.
>
> (Quint. *Inst.* 10.1.97)

> Accius and Pacuvius are the most famous of the ancient tragedians, in view of their profound concepts, their solemn expressions, and their authoritative characters. The smoothness and the finishing touches are

[33] Hor. *Ep.* 2.1.50–89.
[34] Citroni 2003b.

> missing not so much in their works as in their times. However, critics attribute more energy to Accius, while those who pretend to be learned claim that Pacuvius is more learned.

In this sense, Quintilian makes a complete break with the tradition of Varro, Cicero and the academics and grammarians, and reveals his whole-hearted agreement with the positions expressed by contemporary poets: Martial openly shows his lack of sympathy for Ennius, Pacuvius and Accius, in disagreement with those who still admired them in his times. In Martial 5.10, the fact that Ennius was still read in Rome when they had a Virgil, is considered to be an absurdity, a paradox that can only be explained by the envy which is shown towards contemporaries; according to Martial, other famous victims of this attitude were Homer, Menander and Ovid:

> “Esse quid hoc dicam, uiuis quod fama negatur
>   et sua quod rarus tempora lector amat?”
> Hi sunt inuidiae nimirum, Regule, mores,
>   praeferat antiquos semper ut illa nouis. 4
> …
> Ennius est lectus saluo tibi, Roma, Marone, 7
>   et sua riserunt saecula Maeoniden,
> rara coronato plausere theatra Menandro,
>   norat Nasonem sola Corinna suum. 10
>
> (Mart. 5.10.1–10)

> “How is it that people refuse to decree fame for the living, and few readers appreciate what is written in their times?” This, Regulus, is clearly the behaviour of envy, which always prefers the ancients to the moderns … Rome, Ennius was read while you had Virgil among the living, and Homer was not taken seriously by his contemporaries; few theatres applauded Menander, and Corinna was the only one who knew her Ovid.

It may be noted, *en passant*, that once again in these verses we find Homer and Menander joined together as two undeniable leaders of Greek poetry (and the failure to recognise the greatness of Menander is denounced elsewhere by Quintilian himself).[35]

At odds with the exclusive lovers of the severe harshness of the style of the great archaic writers, Martial, in epigram 11.90, displays irritation for Lucilius (v. 4), and for Ennius (5), but above all, he uses brutally contemptuous words for Accius and Pacuvius: *Attonitusque*

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[35] Quint. *Inst.* 3.7.18; cf. also Gel. 17.4.1–2; Apul. *Fl.* 16 (p. 24 H.).

legis "terraï frugiferaï", [an allusion to Ennius] / *Accius et quidquid Pacuuiusque uomunt*, "Open-mouthed, you read *terraï frugiferaï*, and everything that Accius and Pacuvius spew out" (5–6).

In line with the attitude that Quintilian displays towards the great poets of the archaic canon, neither Martial, nor Statius, nor Pliny ever indicates them as reference points for their poet friends.[36]

In the epicedium by Statius for Lucan, Ennius is listed as the first in the series of Latin epic writers whom Lucan has surpassed: Ennius, Lucretius, Varro Atacinus, Ovid and Virgil, all of whom are present in Quintilian's list; his judgement on Ennius, like that of Quintilian, places him in a remote, almost pre-artistic past (*Musa rudis ferocis Enni*, "the rough Muse of the indomitable Ennius", *Silv*. 2.7.75). As regards the comic writers, Quintilian openly criticises the favourable judgement passed by Varro, Aelius Stilo and the *ueteres* on Plautus, Caecilius and Terence,[37] but he does not propose any more recent names.

In Quintilian's survey, the Latin poets for whom no reservations are expressed are extremely few, and they are all Augustan poets, thus confirming the abandonment of the Varronian canon: Virgil, Tibullus, Horace, Varius (only as regards his *Thyestes*) and Ovid (only as regards his *Medea*), and also one more recent poet: Persius. This shows a clear convergence with the tendencies of contemporary poetry, whose fundamental reference points are the great Augustan poets. It is worth underlining the considerable space dedicated by Quintilian to more recent poetic production, seen as full of possibilities and promises, even if he is forced every time to formulate reservations about how these were realized.[38] This, too, finds a correspondence in the prevailing attitude of contemporary poets, who combine a genera-

[36] In the *Dialogus de oratoribus*, which is set in the Flavian age, the character of Aper indicates Accius and Pacuvius as negative models: 20.5 (*exigitur enim iam ab oratore etiam poeticus decor, non Accii aut Pacuuii ueterno inquinatus, sed ex Horatii et Vergilii et Lucani sacrario prolatus*), 21.7.

[37] Quint. *Inst.* 10.1.99–100.

[38] Quint. *Inst.* 10.1.89 (Cornelius Severus, Serranus, Valerius Flaccus and Saleius Bassus), 94 (*sunt clari hodieque et qui olim nominabuntur*), 96 (*si quem adicere uelis, is erit Caesius Bassus, quem nuper uidimus, sed eum longe praecedunt ingenia uiuentium*), 98 (Pomponius Secundus). Likewise, Quintilian does not spare his praise for the more recent prose writers, but only Domitius Afer is actually praised unreservedly: cf. 102–4 (the historians Servilius Nonianus, Aufidius Bassus, Cremutius Cordus and various contemporaries who are not named), 116–22 on various recent orators (including Domitius Afer).

tional sense of inevitable inferiority compared with the great Augustans with a fruitful tension deriving from the emulative challenge and the obstinate search for different artistic possibilities.

For the Latin poets of the first century AD, the models, the emulative reference points in the various genres, are no longer the great poets of the Greek canon, but the Augustan poets. Roland Mayer, who has the merit of having pointed out this important development, dated it to the age of Nero.[39] Mario Labate has rightly observed that Ovid already places his elegiac production in a wholly Latin tradition, whose models belonged to the same Augustan age.[40] Quintilian's survey, compared with, and supplemented by, the opinions expressed by contemporary poets, allows us to define the question more precisely, with particular reference to the Flavian age.

Cicero still had to claim, in contrast with dissenters, the autonomous prestige of the Latin poetic tradition, and in his polemical assertion he emphatically underlined, with a forcefulness which may betray doubts, the attainment of equality with the Greek tradition.[41] At the time of Quintilian, the inferiority complex still noticeable in Cicero has long since disappeared, and this allows a more objective, serene comparison, in which the Roman production deservedly stands comparison with the Greek works, but it never achieves superiority (except in the case of satire, which does not exist in Greek), or even equality (except, perhaps, in elegiac poetry), and at times it appears to be frankly inferior (in comedy, in iambic poetry, but also in tragedy and in epic poetry).[42] In the genres where a great Augustan model had

[39] Mayer 1982.

[40] Labate 1990, 960–2.

[41] Citroni 2003a.

[42] *Inst.* 10.1.93 (satire and elegy), 96 (iambic poetry), 98 (tragedy), 99–100 (comedy). Virgil, who is the only poet from Greece or Rome who comes close to Homer, and is even superior to him in certain aspects, is, however, second to Homer (85–6). Also in prose, Quintilian claims a substantial equality for the Romans in historiography (101) and in rhetoric (105), but he admits their inferiority in philosophy (123). And even if he exalts the rhetoric of Cicero, he admits that without the model of Demosthenes, he would not have reached that level of greatness (108). Also as regards the merits of the Latin language compared with Greek, Quintilian makes a sober comparison between the two (12.10.27–39), whereas Cicero had been induced at times to claim an unlikely superiority of Latin, and at other times to frankly admit its inferiority: Citroni 2003a, 154–5 and n. 5, 183–4. I do not agree, therefore, with Grebe 2000, 300–1, 313–6, who, particularly in consideration of the greater space given to Latin authors, believes that the whole of Quintilian's survey is conditioned by an excessive nationalistic pride.

clearly established itself, one of those poets whom Quintilian, too, quotes without any reservations (Virgil in epic, georgic and bucolic, Tibullus in elegiac, Horace in lyric poetry), the post-Augustan poets take this model as their reference point, as demonstrated by Mayer and Labate, and as the Flavian poets confirm, not only because they themselves take the great Augustan poets as their main models, but also because they indicate them as models for their poet friends.[43] In the case of comedy and tragedy, there was no Augustan model whose prestige was recognised: the isolated masterpieces by Ovid and Varius, which received the whole-hearted praise also of Quintilian, could not be sufficient to create a truly new Augustan tragic theatre, and the ambition of Asinius Pollio to become the new Roman Sophocles, generously consecrated by the compliments of his protégés, Virgil and Horace, was never recognised,[44] just as no recognition was given to the ambition of Fundanius, consecrated by his friend Horace, to become the new Roman Menander.[45] In the case of tragedy and comedy, where there were no recognised Augustan models, it was impossible to avoid making reference to the authors of the archaic canon: this is the reason why Quintilian dedicates more space to the archaic dramatic poets than he does to Ennius, who by now has been substituted by Virgil, but at the same time he cannot avoid pointing out their distance from present-day taste, and the impossibility of taking them as models. And while Pliny still considers Plautus and Terence to be possible models for a friend who intends to write Menander-type comedies,[46] Martial asks a friend of his who starts writing tragedies to become the new Sophocles,[47] seeing that he cannot indicate an authorita-

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43 Cf. Mart. 1.61, 3.38.7–10, 4.14.14, 5.5.8, 5.30.2, 5.56.5, 7.29.7–8, 7.46.2, 7.63.5, 8.70.7, 10.21.4, 11.48, 11.50(49), 11.52.17–8, 12.44.6; Plin. *Ep.* 9.22.1–2.

44 Also in the *Dialogus de oratoribus*, the character of Maternus quotes Ovid's *Medea* and the *Thyestes* by Varius as universally admired works. Asinius Pollio, who is declared to be a new Sophocles in Verg. *Ecl.* 8.10, and is praised as a great tragic poet in Hor. *S.* 1.10.42–3; *Carm.* 2.1.9–12, is, on the contrary, ignored as a tragic poet by Quintilian and by the character of Maternus in Tac. *Dial.* 12, while the character of Aper in *Dial.* 21 suggests that his tragedies had an excessively archaicising quality.

45 Hor. *S.* 1.10.40–2. No other source mentions this poet (except obviously the ancient commentaries on Horace).

46 Plin. *Ep.* 6.21.5 *Scripsit comoedias Menandrum aliosque aetatis eiusdem aemulatus; licet has inter Plautinas Terentianasque numeres.*

47 Mart. 5.30.1–2 *Varro, Sophocleo non infitiande coturno, / nec minus in Calabra suspiciende lyra*: it may be noted that while Martial is forced to indicate a Greek model to his friend for tragic poetry (cf. also 3.20.7 *Canius ... in cothurnis ... Sopho-*

tive Augustan model, and that he rejects the dated models of Pacuvius and Accius. In the same way, Pliny suggests that his above-mentioned friend, who also intended to write comedies à la Aristophanes, should become the model for the Romans in that genre: he should himself be the Roman Aristophanes.[48] Likewise, between the late Augustan age and the age of Tiberius, spaces were identified in the Greek poetic canon which were still not covered in Rome, as regards lyric poetry of the Pindaric kind and fables of the kind written by Aesop, and in these genres, writers could propose themselves as the first Roman Pindar[49] or the first Roman Aesop.[50] Thus the great Greek canon, which opens the series of readings proposed by Quintilian, and which offers the guidelines for the subsequent review of Latin works, is still in the Flavian age the fundamental reference point of the system of poetic genres, and guides the Roman production in fields where there are no great Augustan models.

Lyric poetry, which was ignored by Cicero,[51] recovers its prestige in Quintilian's review, undoubtedly thanks to the work of Horace, as does also iambic poetry, together with it. Elegiac poetry, which was also ignored by Cicero, finds a second-level, yet respectable, position in Quintilian.[52] There is no mention of the epigram, for which, in the period of Quintilian, Martial was creating a new canonical form, by combining the tradition of Catullus with the Greek tradition.[53] Like-

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cleis), in the case of lyric poetry, instead, the reference model is Latin, seeing that in that genre, a great Augustan author had substituted the Greek models as the exemplary reference point.

48 Plin. *Ep.* 6.21.2 *nuper audiui Vergilium Romanum … legentem comoediam ad exemplar ueteris comoediae scriptam, tam bene ut esse quandoque possit exemplar.*

49 In *Ep.* 1.3.9–11, Horace gently teases a poet Titius for his ambition to propose himself as an imitator of Pindar. In *Carm.* 4.2, Horace gives up this idea for himself, stating that it is beyond the possibilities of anybody, and he seems to be alluding to the fact that also his friend Iullus Antonius had the same aspiration.

50 Thus Phaedrus: see above all 2.*ep.*8.

51 Cicero completely ignores the Latin lyric and elegiac production. In *Orator* 183–4 he seems to consider it to be an exclusively Greek genre (… *eorum poetarum qui* λυρικοί *a Graecis nominantur*), and to give an example of a Latin lyric text, he uses a chorus from a tragedy by Ennius. Also references to Greek lyric poets are extremely sporadic in his works, except for a few expressions which recognise the greatness of Pindar. It may be recalled that according to Seneca, *Ep.* 49.5, Cicero stated that even if his life had been twice as long, he would not have found the time to read the lyric poets. I have discussed the question briefly in Citroni 2003b.

52 Quint. *Inst.* 10.1.58, 93.

53 Citroni 2004.

wise, there is no record of those mixed, experimental forms of poetry of which Statius gives us an example in the *Silvae*, new forms of poetry which were to have an important future. These absences do make his survey appear to be excessively academic, far removed from some of the real fundamental issues of contemporary production: but we must remember that at the beginning of his survey, Quintilian had announced that he would take into consideration only the genres of greatest relevance for the orator[54] and, above all, that he had chosen not to speak of his contemporaries.

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[54] Quint. *Inst.* 10.1.45 quoted above, p. 4.

2. THE *RECUSATIO* IN FLAVIAN POETRY*

Ruurd R. Nauta

In 1900, the German philologist Hans Lucas published in a *Festschrift* for Johannes Vahlen an article entitled 'Recusatio'. With this term he referred to the motif that a poet refuses to comply with a request (real or imaginary) to write a certain type of poem. The term caught on, and was used e.g. by Richard Heinze in his revision of Kießling's commentary on Horace and by Giorgio Pasquali in his *Orazio lirico*.[1] Both Heinze and Pasquali conjectured that the form might go back to Hellenistic poetry, and more specifically to Callimachus, from whom they quoted a famous distich sometimes (but by no means universally) attributed to the prologue of the *Aetia*, then still lost: "nor look to me for a song loudly resounding. It is not mine to thunder; that belongs to Zeus".[2] In 1927, the publication of a new papyrus demonstrated that not only the lines quoted by Heinze and Pasquali, but also the *recusatio*-motif itself derived from the prologue to Callimachus' *Aetia*.[3]

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1 Heinze in Kießling-Heinze 1917 on *Carm.* 2.12 (referring back to the comment on *Carm.* 1.6, where the following further instances are given: *Carm.* 4.2, 4.15; Verg. *Ecl.* 6; Prop. 2.1, 3.9; Ov. *Am.* 1.1); Pasquali 1920, 301–17 (with explicit reference to Lucas at 301, n. 3). I suspect that the term was introduced to anglophone scholarship by Eduard Fraenkel in his *Horace*, where he refers back to Heinze (1957, 219, with n. 3).

2 The distich (now fr. 1.19–20 Pf.; I quote the translation by Trypanis 1958) had been reconstituted by Karl Dilthey and tentatively assigned to the prologue of the *Aetia* in the edition of O. Schneider (1873). With respect to fr. 1.19 Schneider had been preceded by Alphons Hecker, whose reconstruction of the prologue, offered in his Groningen dissertation of 1842, was later to prove largely correct. See Benedetto 1993 (esp. 1–26, 62–5, 136–9).

3 The papyrus is *P.Oxy.* 2079, published in vol. 17 of *The Oxyrhynchus Papyri*. The identification of the new text with the prologue to the *Aetia* was at first resisted by some scholars (who were wont to regard the "dream" as the prologue), but the problem was mitigated by the suggestion of Pfeiffer 1928 that the new text had been written for a second edition, and in 1933 all doubt that the prologue and the *Aetia* belonged together was dispersed by the publication of the *scholia Florentina*.

Since then, the history of the *recusatio* has loomed large—one might reasonably think too large—in the many studies of Callimachean elements in Roman poetry, such as Walter Wimmel's canonical *Kallimachos in Rom* and the last chapter of Alan Cameron's iconoclastic *Callimachus and his Critics*.[4]

Yet all these studies virtually confine the study of the *recusatio* to the Augustan poets, sometimes explicitly stating that meaningful use of the form ended with Ovid.[5] Wimmel himself took Statius as an example of an author where the motif has become merely ornamental; the final sentence of the book states that "Statius … with all his petty gestures, betrays the complete meaninglessness to which the apologetic form … has sunk".[6] In 1970, Wimmel's pupil Peter Dams published a dissertation in which he repeated the conviction that "With Ovid, apologetic poetry in its proper sense finds its conclusion", but conceded that the form had an abundant *Nachleben* after Ovid, which he then set out to study for the time from Manilius through Juvenal.[7] Unfortunately, the book is rendered almost useless by its many arbitrary interpretations and schematisations and by its exclusively formalist interests. This is a pity, because, as I hope to show in what follows from the example of Flavian poetry, the *recusatio* was still widely used to discuss the poet's choices both in terms of style, theme and genre, and in terms of his attitude towards the emperor. What moreover attracted me to the idea of treating this topic, is that it allowed me to deal with all the three sub-domains of the study of Flavian poetry: the epics, the *Silvae* of Statius, and the *Epigrams* of Martial.[8]

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[4] Wimmel 1960; Cameron 1995, 454–83 (note p. 471 on Wimmel).

[5] Cf. e.g. Galinsky 1996, 258: "Ovid … marks the end of the development"; there is no indication that the form continued beyound Ovid in the survey in Hopkinson 1988, 98–101, or in the lexicon article of U. Schmitzer, 'Recusatio', in *Der neue Pauly* 10 (2001), 821–2. On the positive side, books on Augustan poetry often contain good treatments of the *recusatio*, e.g. G. Williams 1968; Ross 1975; White 1993; Citroni 1995; see also Lyne 1995, 31–9.

[6] Wimmel 1960, 309–19; quotation from p. 319: "Statius … verrät mit all seinen biederen Gesten die völlige Bedeutungslosigkeit, zu welcher die apologetische Form … abgesunken ist". For a criticism of Wimmel's treatment of Persius, see Thomas 1993, 202–4.

[7] Dams 1970 (the quotation is from p. 4).

[8] This comprehensiveness means that each text can only be discussed very briefly, and that I have to concentrate on the most prototypical instances of the motif. A dis-

1. *The* recusatio *in Callimachus and the Augustan poets*

In order to demonstrate how the Flavian poets adopted and adapted the *recusatio*, I cannot dispense with quoting a few of the earlier texts, however well-known these may be. I begin with two sections from the prologue to the *Aetia* (where the lines quoted by Heinze and Pasquali will be recognised at 19–20):

Πολλάκ˼ι μοι Τελχῖνες ἐπιτρύζουσιν ἀ˻οιδῇ,
   νήιδε˼ς οἳ Μούσης οὐκ ἐγένοντο φίλοι,
εἵνεκε˼ν οὐχ ἓν ἄεισμα διηνεκὲς ἢ βασιλ[η
   .....]ας ἐν πολλαῖς ἤνυσα χιλιάσιν
ἢ.....].ους ἥρωας, ἔπος δ᾽ ἐπὶ τυτθὸν ἑλ[ίσσω
   παῖς ἅτ˼ε, τῶν δ᾽ ἐτέων ἡ δεκὰ˻ς˼ οὐκ ὀλίγη.
…
μηδ᾽ ἀπ᾽ ἐμεῦ διφᾶ˼τε μέγα ψοφέουσαν ἀοιδήν
   τίκτεσθαι· βροντᾶ˼ν οὐκ ἐμόν, ˻ἀλλὰ˼ Διός.”
Καὶ γὰρ ὅτ˼ε πρ˻ώ˼τιστον ἐμοῖς ἐπὶ δέλτον ἔθηκα
   γούνασι˼ν, Ἀ[πό]λλων εἶπεν ὅ μοι Λύκιος·
“.....]...ἀοιδέ, τὸ μὲν θύος ὅττι πάχιστον
   θρέψαι, τὴ]ν̣ Μοῦσαν δ᾽ ὠγαθὲ λεπταλέην·
(Call. fr. 1.1–6, 19–24 Pf.)

Often the Telchines, who are ignorant and no friends of the Muse, grumble at my poetry, because I did not accomplish one continuous poem of many thousands of lines, either … kings or … heroes, but like a child I roll forth a tale in short compass, though the decades of my years are not few.
…
nor look to me for a song loudly resounding. It is not mine to thunder; that belongs to Zeus.” For, when I first placed a tablet on my knees, Lycian Apollo said to me: “… poet, feed the victim to be as fat as possible, but, my friend, keep the Muse slender. (tr. Trypanis 1958, adapted)

In anticipation of my later argument I here wish to make two points, a smaller and a larger one. The smaller one is that the first word has now been certainly restored from a Homeric scholium as reading πολλάκι, “often”,[9] the larger one concerns the question of genre. The old consensus that the poetry required by the Telchines and rejected

cussion of generic poetics as such would demand quite a different scale and style of treatment.

[9] See Pontani 1999. Otherwise the details of the constitution of the text are not here at issue, and I print the text as given in Pfeiffer 1949. For a detailed interpretation of lines 21–4 see Nauta 2006b.

by Callimachus is epic has been challenged by Alan Cameron, who argued that it is a certain type of elegy, but in her review of Cameron's book, Annette Harder has convincingly shown that though Cameron is right in contesting that the *Aetia* prologue is exclusively concerned with epic, he is wrong in asserting that is exclusively concerned with elegy: the prologue alludes to a number of different genres and poetological discussions, thus establishing a frame of reference in which the opposition between the "small" and the "grand" is not limited to a single genre.[10]

The passage from the *Aetia* is imitated by Virgil at the beginning of the sixth eclogue. In accordance with the genre of the *Eclogues*, Apollo's admonition is "bucolicised", and the sacrificial animal becomes a herdsman's sheep:

> Cum canerem reges et proelia, Cynthius aurem
> uellit et admonuit: "Pastorem, Tityre, pinguis
> pascere oportet ouis, deductum dicere carmen".
> Nunc ego (namque super tibi erunt qui dicere laudes,
> Vare, tuas cupiant et tristia condere bella)
> agrestem tenui meditabor harundine Musam:
>
> (Verg. *Ecl.* 6.3–8)

> When I tried to sing of kings and battles, Cynthius [i.e. Apollo] tweaked my ear and admonished me: "A shepherd, Tityrus, should feed his sheep to be fat, but say a fine-spun song". Now I (for you will have poets enough, Varus, who wish to say your praises and compose sad wars) will practice a rustic Muse on a slender reed.

In contrast to what was the case in Callimachus, here the frame of reference is indeed epic, or rather *epos* in the sense of hexameter poetry, of which two varieties are contrasted, the bucolic and the martial. Virgil's source for this is not acknowledged by the commentators, and for that reason I briefly mention it:[11] it is to be found in a section of the anonymous *Lament for Bion* (and perhaps also a poem of Bion on which this section may be based), from which I quote only a few lines:

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[10] Cameron 1995, reviewed by Harder 2002a; see more extensively Harder 2002b, 206–11.

[11] To my knowledge, the only scholar to mention the parallel is Schmidt 1972, 254 (it is not noted in Pachalis 1995). That this section of the *Lament* (76–84) may be based on a programmatic utterance in Bion's own poetry is suggested by fr. 9 (6) (quoted by Cameron 1995, 456).

κεῖνος δ’ οὐ πολέμους, οὐ δάκρυα, Πᾶνα δ’ ἔμελπε
καὶ βούτας ἐλίγαινε καὶ ἀείδων ἐνόμευε

([Mosch.] 3.80–1)

he [Bion as opposed to Homer] did not sing of wars, not of tears, but of Pan, and as a cowherd he made music, and singing he herded

Virgil’s *tristia … bella* clearly derive from the “wars” and “tears” of the *Lament*. But Virgil adds a dimension to both Callimachus and Bion, in that the epic poem that the bucolic poet may not write is panegyric: *laudes, Vare, tuas*.[12] But in the very act of refusing to write panegyric epic, he incorporates praise of Varus in the genre he does write, bucolic.[13]

After Virgil, praising in a “smaller” genre by refusing to praise in a “grander” genre became an important feature of the Roman *recusatio*. The classic example (together with the sixth eclogue) is Horace’s ode to Agrippa, general and admiral in the service of Augustus.[14] Horace begins by announcing that Agrippa will be written about by Varius (*Scriberis Vario*), while he himself is too slight (*tenues*) for such grand poetry (*grandia*),

dum pudor
inbellisque lyrae Musa potens uetat
laudes egregii Caesaris et tuas
culpa deterere ingeni.
Quis Martem tunica tectum adamantina
digne scripserit aut puluere Troico
nigrum Merionen aut ope Palladis
Tydiden superis parem?

(Hor. *Carm.* 1.6.9–16)

Diffidence, and the Muse who controls the unwarlike lyre, forbid me to diminish the exploits of glorious Caesar and yourself by my inadequate talent. Who could write worthily of Mars clad in his adamantine breast-

[12] Virgil was thinking of the many panegyrical epics of his day, in which the deeds of a great general were celebrated, such the *Bellum Sequanicum* by Varro of Atax (on Julius Caesar) or the *Bellum Siculum* of Cornelius Severus (on Octavian). Cf. White 1993, 78–82; Cameron 1995, 287–9, 463–71 (who sometimes too strongly opposes “panegyric” and “epic”).

[13] For further interpretation of this passage in the context of Virgil’s *Eclogues* see Nauta 2006a.

[14] On the incorporation of the ostensibly “refuted” praise in this ode cf. Davis 1991, 28–39.

> plate or Meriones black with the dust of Troy, or the son of Tydeus who, with Pallas' aid, was the equal of the gods? (tr. Rudd 2004)

As Virgil did, Horace also opposes a "smaller" genre (here lyric) to epic, specifies the type of epic that he refuses to write as *laudes*, defers the task of writing such an epic to someone else (here Varius), and refers to a prohibition issued by a deity presiding over his chosen genre (here the *inbellis … lyrae Musa potens*). But unlike Virgil, Horace adds an excuse based on personal *pudor*, occasioned by a sense that his *ingenium* is insufficient, that not only the genre, but the poet himself is too *tenuis* for the *grandia* he is asked to write. At the end of the ode, this inadequacy is revealed as having to do with his identity as a lover and consequently as a love poet, who prefers to sing of other "battles": those of girls and young men at the symposium (17–20).

Being a lover is more central, of course, to the *recusationes* of the love elegists, especially Propertius and Ovid. I can here quote only one example, and I selected Propertius 3.3, because I will need to refer to it repeatedly in my later discussion.[15] In this poem Propertius combines imitation of the prologue to the *Aetia* (fr. 1 Pf.) with imitation of the actual beginning of that work (fr. 2 Pf.), in which Callimachus has a dream of meeting the Muses.[16] Propertius has a dream as well, and his dream is that he is about to drink from the large river from which already Ennius drank—but then Apollo intervenes, as he did in Callimachus' prologue. He upbraids the poet in strong terms:

> "Quid tibi cum tali, demens, est flumine? Quis te
> carminis heroi tangere iussit opus?
> Non hinc ulla tibi sperandast fama, Properti:
> mollia sunt paruis prata terenda rotis;
> ut tuus in scamno iactetur saepe libellus,
> quem legat exspectans sola puella uirum.
>
> (Prop. 3.3.15–20)

> "Madman, what business have you at such a stream? Who bade you touch the genre of heroic song? Not from here, Propertius, may you hope for any fame: small wheels must run upon soft grass, so that your

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[15] Some other relevant texts are Prop. 2.1, 2.10, 3.1, 3.9, 4.1; Ov. *Am.* 1.1, 2.1, 2.18, 3.1.

[16] Another dream evoked by Propertius is that of Ennius at the beginning of the *Annals*; the reconstruction of either dream is difficult and contested, and cannot be discussed here.

> book be oft paraded on the bench for a lonely girl to read as she awaits her man. (tr. Goold 1990, adapted)

Then Apollo leads Propertius to the grotto of the Muses, and there one of them reinforces the message:

> "Contentus niueis semper uectabere cycnis,
> nec te fortis equi ducet ad arma sonus.
> Nil tibi sit rauco praeconia classica cornu
> flare, nec Aonium tingere Marte nemus
>
> (Prop. 3.3.39–42)

> "You will always be happy to ride on snow-white swans; no galloping hooves of the war horse will call you to arms. Be it no concern of yours to sound the martial summons on the blearing trumpet or stain with bloody warfare the groves of Helicon (tr. Goold 1990)

The Muse goes on to stress that Propertius is a love poet, an identity not compatible with *arma*, the typical theme of epic poetry.[17]

2. *The* recusatio *in Flavian poetry*

2.1. *The epics*

If *recusatio* would only be the rejection of epic, the first *recusatio* to be found in Flavian poetry could not occur where it does occur: in the proem of an epic. In Valerius Flaccus' *Argonautica*, the poet, after having stated his theme, invokes first Phoebus, and then Vespasian, who is connected to the theme of the poem by his maritime achievements (especially his contribution to the conquest of Britain by Claudius):[18]

> Phoebe, mone, …
> … tuque o pelagi cui maior aperti
> fama, Caledonius postquam tua carbasa uexit
> Oceanus Phrygios prius indignatus Iulos,
> eripe me populis et habenti nubila terrae,
> sancte pater, ueterumque faue, uenerande, canenti
> facta uirum: uersam proles tua pandet Idumen,

[17] Of course in fact love does play a role in epic, but in *recusationes* and other programmatic passages poets remain faithful to the idea that epic poetry is exclusively concerned with *reges et proelia*; cf. Hinds 2000.

[18] See e.g. Lefèvre 1971, 50–7.

namque potest, Solymo nigrantem puluere fratrem
spargentemque faces et in omni turre furentem.

(V. Fl. 1.5–14)

11/13 sancte pater *et* namque potes *transp. Samuelsson* 11 uenerande *Baehrens*: ueneranda 12 pandet *recc.*: pandit 13 potest *recc.*: potes

Phoebus, be thou my guide, … And thou too, that didst win still greater glory for opening up the sea, after the Caledonian ocean had borne thy sails, the ocean that of yore would not brook the Phrygian Iuli, do thou, holy sire, raise me above the nations and the cloud-wrapped earth, and be favourable unto me, venerable one, as I hymn the deeds of old time heroes. Thy son shall tell of the overthrow of Idume—for well he can—of his brother black with the dust of Solyma, as he hurls the brands and spreads havoc in every tower. (tr. Mozley 1934, adapted)

Valerius explains to Vespasian that he has chosen to sing the deeds of heroes of the past (*ueterum … canenti / facta uirum*), and not those of Vespasian's son Titus in Judaea, because that will be done by Vespasian's other son, Domitian.[19] That this is a *recusatio* has sometimes been acknowledged, but the references to the tradition of the form have not all been recognised or exploited.[20] Such a reference may perhaps already be found in *Phoebe, mone*, which might recall Virgil's *Cynthius … admonuit*, but in any case in the statement that someone else will write a panegyrical epic. In the parallels for such a deferral, the future tense is always used (e.g. *super tibi erunt* in Virgil, *scriberis* in Horace), and I think that for that reason the correction *pandet* may be admitted.[21] Horace's poem is specifically recalled in the next line by the expression *nigrantem puluere*, a juncture which finds its only attested parallel in Horace's *puluere … nigrum*, likewise in the characterisation of the epic the poet will not write (14). Once the link with the *recusatio* is seen, the need to transpose *namque potes*(*t*) disappears,[22] because that expression can be recognised as the

[19] This poem may never have materialised, but we know of a poem on the battle of the Capitol in 69 (Mart. 5.5.7).

[20] Cf. Schetter 1962, 214; Lefèvre 1971.

[21] Nisbet-Hubbard 1970, 83 quote the verse, with *pandet*, as a parallel to Hor. *Carm.* 1.6.1, together with Hor. *Carm.* 2.12.9–10, 4.2.33–4; Verg. *Ecl.* 6.6–7; *Paneg. Mess.* 179–80; Prop. 2.34.61–2.

[22] The transposition has been accepted by the majority of modern scholars who have dealt with the proem. For a good brief survey of the discussion see Kleywegt 2005, 15–7.

traditional motivation of the suitability of the proposed panegyrist.[23] The word *namque* occurs in precisely this context in Virgil's sixth eclogue (*namque super tibi erunt*), and also in a similar context in the pseudo-Virgilian *Culex*, which was generally considered a juvenile work of Virgil, addressed to the later Octavian and Augustus when he was he still called Octavius.[24]

> Et tu, cui meritis oritur fiducia chartis,
> Octaui uenerande, meis adlabere coeptis,
> sancte puer, tibi namque canit non pagina bellum
> triste Iouis
>
> (*Culex* 24–7)

> And thou too, in whom meritorious writings gain confidence, venerable Octavius, glide to the aid of my venture, holy boy—for my page does not sing for thee of Jove's gloomy war

This text seems to be more closely recalled by Valerius, as *sancte pater ... uenerande* is parallel to *uenerande ... sancte puer* (which in itself seems reason enough for accepting the emendation *uenerande*). I will return to the *Culex* later on.

In the first verse of the *Argonautica* Valerius makes it clear that he will deal with a traditionally "grand" theme (*Prima deum magnis canimus freta peruia natis*), but by the immediately following references to the *recusatio* he seems to link his "grand" epic with such "small" genres as Horace's lyric and Virgil's epyllion. The explanation for this is, I think, two-fold. First, one may note that under the Early Empire almost all epics, whether heroic or didactic, begin with an invocation of the emperor: this holds for Virgil's *Georgics*, Ovid's *Fasti*, Manilius' *Astronomica*, Germanicus' *Aratea*, Lucan's *Bellum Ciuile*, and the *Thebaid* and *Achilleid* of Statius.[25] Apparently it was

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[23] Cf. *Paneg. Mess.* ([Tib.] 4.1 (3.7)) 179: *est tibi qui possit*; related Hor. *Carm.* 2.12.9–11: *tu ... dices ... melius*.

[24] The *Culex* was held to be Virgilian by Lucan (Suet. *Vit. Luc.*; cf. *Silv.* 2.7.74), and later by Martial (14.185, 8.55 (56).20) and Statius (*Silv.* 1.*ep.*7, discussed below). The text continuously evokes the authentic works of Virgil (although on the terms of its fiction these were later): here the *recusatio* in the sixth eclogue (*tristia ... bella*, 7; *canet ... pagina*, 11–2), the invocation of Octavian at the beginning of the *Georgics* (*adnue coeptis*, 1.40), and the expression *uenerande puer* in the *Aeneid* (9.276, of Euryalus). On the *Culex* see Güntzschel 1972; Most 1987; Gall 1999, 253–67.

[25] The *Aeneid* takes a different route and postpones panegyric of the emperor to a prophecy scene (1.257–96), but the only one to follow Virgil in this is Silius (3.571–629). Also the *Silvae* and most of the books of Martial begin with the emperor; see Nauta 2002a, 374–7. In prose, it is mainly the authors of didactic works who honour

wise for a poet to advertise that he enjoyed the favour of the emperor. This was usually done by invoking the emperor as an inspiring deity, often in combination with an anticipation of his future apotheosis;[26] this also happens in the *Argonautica*, in the section immediately following the one I have quoted (1.15–21). But another form that such homage might take was the *recusatio*—and now I come to the second part of the background to Valerius' innovation. For if a poet wrote heroic (rather than didactic) epic, he might be suspected of insufficient loyalty if he did not choose the deeds of the emperor for his theme. And the only way in which the poet could counter such a suspicion was by collapsing the traditional distinction between "small" and "grand" genres: in order to celebrate the emperor—or his son—, even grand was not grand enough, so that even a writer of epic might excuse himself. Only the emperor himself—or his son—could be equal to the task: *proles tua ... namque potest.*[27]

In the prooemium to Statius' *Thebaid* the *recusatio* has almost entirely displaced the invocation:[28] the apotheosis of the emperor is still anticipated, but not in connection with his function as an inspiring deity, but as part of the panegyric that the poet refuses (and by refusing incorporates): the poet does not yet dare to sing of the deeds of the emperor, whom Rome would want to have for ever—and although heaven is ready to receive him, may he remain long on earth (19–31). But "refuse" is not the exact word: Statius rather postpones the task to a an indefinite future: he "would not yet dare" (*nondum ... ausim*, 17–8) to breathe Domitian's triumphs, but

> Tempus erit, cum Pierio tua fortior oestro
> facta canam: nunc tendo chelyn: satis arma referre
> Aonia
>
> (Stat. *Theb.* 1.32–4)

> A time will come when stronger in Pierian frenzy I shall sing your deeds. For now I but tune my lyre: enough to recount Aonian arms (tr. Shackleton Bailey 2003)

the emperor in their prooemia (e.g. Vitruvius, Valerius Maximus, Scribonius Largus, Pliny the Elder); cf. Janson 1964, 100–6.

26 Cf. Rosati 2002, 238–44.

27 On Domitian as an epic poet see below, n. 38.

28 On the prooemium to the *Thebaid* see esp. Schetter 1962; Rosati 2002; Markus 2003.

Arma, normally rejected in the *recusatio*, are here chosen as the "weaker" option, favoured by the Muses, who provide *Pierius …calor* (3) if not *Pierius oestrus*. The paradox is underscored by the use of the epithet *Aonia*, which not only refers to the Boeotian (Theban) setting of the war, but also suggests the Boeotian (Heliconian) Muses. We may recall how in Propertius 3.3 the Muse herself declared that *arma* had no place in the *Aonium nemus*.[29]

When Statius introduces his second epic, it appears from the first words (*Magnanimum Aeaciden*) that a panegyric on Domitian has again been put off in favour of another mythological epic. In a poetical letter to Vitorius Marcellus, published in the *Silvae* (4.4), Statius explains the situation:

> Troia quidem magnusque mihi temptatur Achilles,
> sed uocat arcitenens alio pater armaque monstrat
> Ausonii maiora ducis. Trahit impetus illo
> iam pridem retrahitque timor. Stabuntne sub illa
> mole umeri an magno uincetur pondere ceruix?
> Dic, Marcelle, feram? Fluctus an sueta minores
> nosse ratis nondum Ioniis credenda periclis?
> (Stat. *Silv.* 4.4.94–100)

> Troy I attempt and great Achilles, but the Father that bears the bow calls me elsewhere, pointing to the Ausonian leader's greater arms. Impulse has long been drawing me that way, and fear draws me back. Will my shoulders hold fast under such a mass, or will my neck sink beneath the mighty load? Say, Marcellus, shall I bear it? Or is my ship, accustomed to sail lesser seas, not yet to be trusted to the perils of the Ionian? (tr. Shackleton Bailey 1993, adapted)

It is is striking that here Apollo does not have his traditional role of dissuading from a "grand" poetry and from *arma*, but on the contrary points the poet towards *arma … maiora*, "greater arms"—greater, that is, than the traditional epic theme, which is "great" (*magnus Achilles*), yet "smaller" than what would be required (cf. *fluctus … minores*). When the authority of Apollo can no longer be invoked against the pressure to praise, then the only excuse left is, as in the *Thebaid*, that one is not strong enough, or rather, "not yet" (*nondum*) strong enough.[30] But Statius self-presentation in the letter puts it beyond

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[29] The phrase *Aonium nemus* recurs in the proem of the *Achilleid* (1.10), on which cf. Barchiesi 1996, 54.

[30] The imagery used by Statius goes back to a *recusatio* of Propertius (not noted in the commentaries): *Quid me scribendi tam uastum mittis in aequor? / Non sunt apta*

doubt that an increase of strength is not to be reckoned with: he consistently portrays himself as tired, weak and old, and at one point he even connects the appoach of old age with the writing of panegyric: *nos facta aliena canendo / uergimus in senium*, "I drift into old age singing other men's deeds" (69–70).

Nevertheless, the deferral of panegyric to the future is very emphatic in the prooem to the *Achilleid* itself:[31]

> At tu, quem longe primum stupet Itala uirtus
> Graiaque, cui geminae florent uatumque ducumque
> certatim laurus—olim dolet altera uinci—,
> da ueniam ac trepidum patere hoc sudare parumper
> puluere: te longo necdum fidente paratu
> molimur magnusque tibi praeludit Achilles.
>
> (Stat. *Ach.* 1.14–9)

> But you, the wonder of Italy's and Greece's manood first by far, for whom the twin laurels of bards and captains flourish in rivalry (one of the twain is long since sad to be surpassed), give me good leave; suffer me in my eagerness to sweat awhile in this dust. On you I work in long and not yet confident preparing, and great Achilles is your prelude. (tr. Shackleton Bailey 2003)

It is of some moment to determine what image is called up by the words *hoc sudare ... puluere*, "sweat ... in this dust". Commentators and translators think of the arena,[32] but in Latin literature the combination of sweat and dust always refers to the battlefield.[33] In Statius we also find an association with preparation for the battlefield in the form of play: in the *Thebaid* a battle is compared to the competitions at the Olympic games, where *uirum sudoribus ardet / puluis*, "the dust warms with the sweat of men" (1.422–3),[34] and in the *Achilleid* itself Achilles appears from the hunt *multo sudore et puluere maior*, "bigger from much sweat and dust" (1.159). So the ageing Statius appears in

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meae grandia uela rati. / Turpe est, quod nequeas, capiti committere pondus / et pressum inflexo mox dare terga iugo (3.9.3–6).

[31] On this proem see esp. Barchiesi 1996; Heslin 2005, 71–80.

[32] Cf. Dilke 1954, 82; Méheust 1971, 67, n. 4; Rosati 1994, 77; also Barchiesi 1996, 56.

[33] See e.g. Plin. *Ep.* 9.2.4; *Pan.* 13.1; and in Statius himself *Theb.* 3.210–1, 9.710, 10.37; *Silv.* 5.1.132–4.

[34] Cf. also *Silv.* 5.3.54–5 *non arua rigaret / sudor equum aut putri sonitum daret ungula fossa*, with reference to games.

his proem as a young man in training, similar to his own hero in the first stages of his epic.

Such a reading is also suggested by Statius' use of the word *praeludere*, which recalls his earlier use of that word in the preface to the first book of the *Siluae*:

> quid enim [   ] quoque auctoritatis editionis onerari, quo adhuc pro *Thebaide* mea, quamuis me reliquerit, timeo? sed et *Culicem* legimus et *Batrachomachiam* etiam agnoscimus, nec quisquam est inlustrium poetarum qui non aliquid operibus suis stilo remissiore praeluserit.
>
> (Stat. *Silv.* 1.*ep.*5–9)
>
> opus eo tempore hos Saenger Sandström O. Müller coniunctis uiribus
>
> For why <should they too> (i.e. the *libelli* collected in the *Silvae*) be burdened with the authority of publication <at a time> when I am still anxious for my *Thebaid*, although it has left my hands? But we read *The Culex* and even recognize the *Battle of the Frogs*, and none of our illustrious poets but has preluded his works with something in a lighter vein. (tr. Shackleton Bailey 1993, adapted)

As we have seen, the *Culex* was considered a juvenile work of Virgil, and as such it presented itself, being adressed to an Octavius who is meant to be identified with the later Octavian and Augustus.[35] It begins *Lusimus, Octaui*, and the idea of *ludere* is repeated a number of times: *lusimus* (3), *per ludum* (4), *ludente* (19), *ludere* (36). But the poet also announces that he will later honour his addressee with a grander work, written *grauiore sono*, "with heavier sound" (8)—and the reader of course knows that this promise has been fulfilled in the *Aeneid*. The poet's *ludere* is indeed a *praeludere*.[36] Accordingly, in the preface to the first book of the *Silvae*, Statius uses the relation of the *Culex* to the *Aeneid* as a parallel to the relation of the *Silvae* to the *Thebaid*. But in the proem of the *Achilleid* what is said to *praeludere* is no longer a work in a "small" genre, but an epic: now the relation of the *Culex* to the *Aeneid* has become parallel to that of the *Achilleid* (and by implication the *Thebaid*) to a virtual panegyrical epic on

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[35] See n. 24.

[36] Similarly of a sculptor *Silv.* 1.3.50–1. At *Silv.* 4.*ep.* 30–1 the *Silvae* are compared to the *palaris lusio*. In the *Achilleid* we have again a parallel of Achilles with the poet: *proelia ludit* (1.40).

Domitian.[37] This would mean that such an epic would have to be written by a poet who surpassed the mature Virgil as far as the mature Virgil surpassed the juvenile Virgil, and the only one of whom that might be said was Domitian himself, *cui geminae florent uatumque ducumque / certatim laurus* (15–6).[38] Statius' own ambition, articulated at the end of *Thebaid*, is that his epic may follow the *Aeneid* at a respectful distance (12.816–7). His modesty with respect to the emperor is ultimately dependent upon a modesty with respect to the literary tradition—or the other way around.

2.2. *Statius'* Silvae

When we now look at the *Silvae*, we will see that there is another side to Statius' modesty. I will take as my starting-point the poem that was the subject of Wimmel's scorn (cited at the beginning of my paper), *Silvae* 4.7, the lyrical ode to Vibius Maximus:

> Iam diu lato spatiata campo
> fortis heroos, Erato, labores
> differ atque ingens opus in minores
>   contrahe gyros,
> tuque regnator lyricae cohortis
> da noui paulum mihi iura plectri,
> si tuas cantu Latio sacraui,
>   Pindare, Thebas.
> Maximo carmen tenuare tempto;
> …

[37] Comparable is the passage in *Silv.* 2.7 where Calliope predicts the career of Lucan, with whom likewise mythological epic (even if presumably in a short compass) preceded a "Roman" (if not a panegyrical) epic: *tu carus Latio memorque gentis / carmen fortior exseres togatum. / Ac primum teneris adhuc in annis / ludes Hectora Thessalosque currus* (52–5). It is perhaps possible that Statius both here and in the proem to the *Achilleid* echoes the proem of Lucan's *Iliaca* (for which see Courtney 2003, 353–4).

[38] Yet at *Silv.* 2.7.35, 79–80 Statius claims that Virgil has been surpassed by Lucan (and indeed Lucan, like Domitian, but unlike Statius, wrote a "Roman" epic; cf. nn. 19, 37). For Domitian as the best epic poet see also V. Fl. 1.12–4 (as interpreted above); Mart. 5.5 (Martial is to Catullus as Virgil is to Domitian); Quint. *Inst.* 10.1.91–2 (Domitian surpasses all other epic poets).

quippe te fido monitore nostra
Thebais multa cruciata lima
temptat audaci fide Mantuanae
gaudia famae.

(Stat. *Silv.* 4.7.1–9, 25–8)

Long, valiant Erato, have you ranged the spreading plain; now defer heroic labours and narrow your mighty work into lesser circuits; and you, Pindar, ruler of the lyric band, grant me for a little while the right to change my quill, if I have hallowed your Thebes in Latin song: for Maximus I essay to trim my verse. … For 'tis with you as my trusty counsellor that my *Thebaid*, tortured by much filing, essays with daring string the joys of Mantuan fame. (tr. Shackleton Bailey 1993)

Here we find the traditional preference for "small" over "grand" poetry, connected with a pun on the name of the addressee (*Maximo … tenuare*). But the writing of epic is not refused in principle, it is only postponed for a while (3, 6); moreover, Statius presents himself as the author of epic poetry, referring both to the *Thebaid* (7–8, 25–8) and the *Achilleid* (21–4, not quoted).[39] But that epic poetry is characterised in terms of a Callimachean aesthetics: *Thebais multa cruciata lima* (26), which one may compare the famous phrase from the end of the epic itself *o mihi bissenos multum uigilata per annos / Thebai*, "my *Thebaid*, on whom I have spent twelve wakeful years" (12.811–2). We have here ἀγρυπνία, *labor limae*, and a long period of gestation, ideals which derive from the poetics of the Hellenistic poets, the neoterics and Horace.[40] But at least since the *Aeneid* such associations could no longer be reserved to the "small" form; if anything, the epic now had the highest claim on aesthetic polish.[41] And indeed we see in Statius not just a neutralisation, but even an inversion of the Callimachean apologetic scheme: throughout the collection Statius presents

[39] Elsewhere, too, writing the *Silvae* is presented as a break for the epicist: cf. 1.6.1–3 and especially 1.5.1–14, analysed as a *recusatio* by Newlands 2002, 212–9. In the preface to the first book of the *Silvae* (quoted above), the poet is likewise primarily an epicist, who writes the *Silvae* by way of exercise; similarly in 4.*ep.*

[40] For ἀγρυπνία cf. esp. Callimachus' epigram on Aratus, *AP* 9.507 = 27 Pf. = 1297–300 *HE*, imitated by Cinna, fr. 11 *FLP* (Courtney) = 11 *FPL*³ (*multum uigilata* (J.J. Scaliger: *inuigilata* codd.) … *carmina*), for *labor limae* esp. Hor. *Ars* 291 (but also e.g. *S.* 1.4.9–13 and 1.10.50–71), for a long period of gestation esp. Catul. 95 and Hor. *Ars* 389–90. More material in Wiseman 1979, 169–70.

[41] Already in Lucretius we find *labor* and *uigilare* associated with a "grand" work (1.141–2). Later the association with epic becomes standard; Juvenal speaks of the *uigilata … proelia* of a poor poet (7.27).

his *Siluae* in various ways as *less* well-crafted, not more, than his epics.[42]

But Statius' reversal of the traditional scheme goes further: he does write the panegyric he rejects in his epics, but he writes it in the *Silvae*, i.e. in the "smaller" form. It may be true that Statius does not dare to write a panegyrical epic on Domitian (*nondum ... ausim* in the prooem to the *Thebaid*), but he does show other kinds of daring: the *audacia* connected with fast composition, and especially the *audacia* connected with offering the products of that fast composition to the emperor.[43] Of the first poem in the *Silvae*, a description of a colossal equestrian statue of Domitian, he writes:[44]

> centum hos uersus, quos in ecum maximum feci, indulgentissimo imperatori postero die quam dedicauerat opus, tradere ausus sum.
> (Stat. *Silv.* 1.*ep.*17–9)
>
> ausus sum *Sandström*: iussum *M*
>
> I ventured to hand over these hundred lines on the Great Horse to our most indulgent emperor the day after he dedicated the work. (tr. Shackleton Bailey 2003)

And after the preface we read the poem itself, *Ecus maximus Domitiani imp.*[45] It begins at once with "grand" words (*Quae superimposito moles geminata colosso*, etc.), and then compares the "very great" statue with the Trojan horse (not without mention of Aeneas) (8–16), as well as with the horse of Mars (18–21), who as the god of war is in a sense the god of epic.[46] So motifs which are typical for epic are here incorporated into the small form, and that includes panegyric on the emperor (even if not his *arma*).

But panegyric in the *Silvae* is not confined to the emperor; the poem I started with, *Silvae* 4.7, is a panegyric of Vibius Maximus. And if we look at that poem once again, we find there yet another

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[42] In the prefaces to *Silv.* 1–4 Statius uniformly stresses improvisation, or at least fast composition; cf. Nauta 2002a, 249–51.

[43] For *audere* etc. of writing panegyric on the emperor cf. also Hor. *S.* 2.1.10; Prop. 2.10.5; Ov. *Tr.* 2.337; *Pont.* 2.5.28–9 (of course *audere* is also associated with "grand" poetry as such; e.g. Ov. *Am.* 2.1.11, 2.18.4; cf. *Fast.* 6.22; *Tr.* 2.330). For the *audacia* of fast composition cf. 1.*ep.*22, 3.*ep.*4. For *audere* of offering poems to the emperor cf. also Mart. 6.1.

[44] On the text see Håkanson 1969, 17–8.

[45] On the titles of the poems in the *Silvae* see Nauta 2002a, 269–72.

[46] See further on epic elements in *Silv.* 1.1 Gibson in this volume, 169–70.

form of daring, daring with respect to the literary tradition: Statius writes (27–8) that the *Thebaid* tempts to rival the *Aeneid audaci fide*, "with audacious lyre". And this may suggest that the other lyre relevant to this poem, the lyre struck up by Statius himself under the auspices of Pindar (5–6), is audacious as well, and that Statius here vies with Pindar (and of course with Horace) in incorporating panegyric in lyric poetry.

2.3. *Martial's* Epigrams

Some of the topics that I have just touched upon recur in Martial, such as the association of aesthetic perfection with the "great" rather than the "small" form, and the positioning of panegyric in the "small" rather than in the "great" form. I cannot deal here with more than two epigrams, and I shall try to illustrate from these some of the ways in which Martial uses the *recusatio*-tradition in order to articulate his own poetics.[47]

I begin with an epigram in which Martial may refer to Callimachus himself:[48]

> Saepe mihi dicis, Luci carissime Iuli,
>   "scribe aliquid magnum: desidiosus homo es."
> Otia da nobis, sed qualia fecerat olim
>   Maecenas Flacco Vergilioque suo:
> condere uicturas temptem per saecula curas
>   et nomen flammis eripuisse meum.
> In steriles nolunt campos iuga ferre iuuenci:
>   pingue solum lassat, sed iuuat ipse labor.
>
> (Mart. 1.107)

> You often say to me, dearest Lucius Julius: "Write something big. You are a lazybones." Give me leisure, I mean such leisure as Maecenas once made for his Flaccus and his Virgil. Then I would try to write works that would live through the centuries and snatch my name from the funeral fires. Oxen don't like to bear the yoke into barren acres. A thick soil tires, but the very labour is joy. (tr. Shackleton Bailey 1993)

The initial *saepe* might be a reference to πολλάκι at the beginning of the *Aetia*, the more so because in Martial's epigram an interlocutor

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47 On the poetics of Martial see the fundamental study of Citroni 1968; cf. also Sullivan 1993, 56–77.

48 For further aspects of this poem cf. Nauta 2002a, 83.

reproaches the poet for not writing something "big" (even if that interlocutor is here a good friend of the poet rather than no friend of the Muses). But of course Martial stands the Callimachean scheme on its head: he does not reject grand poetry, on the contrary: he would be fully prepared to engage with a *pingue solum*, although the word παχύ has a negative connotation in the prologue to the *Aetia* and in Callimachus elsewhere[49]—but only if he received the requisite patronage. This gives a surprising twist to the motif of the *culpa ingeni*, frequent in the Latin tradition since Horace (*Carm.* 1.6.12): Martial is not short of talent, he is short of money; *his recusatio* grounds the poetics of the small form in social and economic reality.

The second epigram that I wish to consider is more elaborate. In the third poem of his eighth book Martial addresses the Muse, and announces that he will stop writing epigrams, because he could not possibly become any more famous than he already is. The Muse is afraid that he may turn to the grander genres instead, and tries to deter him:[50]

An iuuat ad tragicos soccum transferre cothurnos,
 aspera uel paribus bella tonare modis,
praelegat ut tumidus rauca te uoce magister
 oderit et grandis uirgo bonusque puer?
Scribant ista graues nimium nimiumque seueri,
 quos media miseros nocte lucerna uidet.
At tu Romano lepidos sale tinge libellos:
 agnoscat mores uita legatque suos.
Angusta cantare licet uidearis auena,
 dum tua multorum uincat auena tubas."

(Mart. 8.3.13–22)

Or do you wish to exchange your slipper for tragic buskins or thunder hard-fought wars in equal measures, to be dictated by a pompous schoolmaster's hoarse voice and hated by big girls and honest lads? Let the ultra-serious and the ultra-severe write such stuff, sad fellows looked upon by the midnight lamp. But do *you* dip your witty little books in Roman salt; let life recognise and read of her ways. Never mind if you seem to sing with a narrow pipe, so long as your pipe outmatches many people's trumpets." (tr. Shackleton Bailey 1993)

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[49] Cf. fr. 1.32–4 Pf. (quoted above), fr. 398 Pf. Similarly *pinguis* in Verg. *Ecl.* 6.4. Martial seems to have derived the motif of ploughing (un)fruitful soil from Ov. *Tr.* 2.327–8, but there the term *pinguis* does not occur.

[50] For a different reading cf. Lorenz 2002, 173–6.

The situation is reminiscent of that in the poem of Propertius that I quoted earlier (3.3), even if the two warning figures in Propertius (Apollo and the Muse) have become one in Martial (just the Muse). But in Martial as well, the warning figure upbraids the poet in a series of indignant questions, and dissuades him from the higher genres because of a preference for a certain kind of reader: Propertius should be read by a *puella* (20), but Martial should not be read by a *grandis uirgo* (16). Martial's Muse not only dislikes a certain kind of reader, she also dislikes a certain kind of author, the type that burns the midnight oil: again we see the ἀγρυπνία-motif associated with the higher genres, epic and tragedy. These are contrasted with the lower genres, and not just with epigram itself: bucolic is invoked by the *angusta … auena* of l. 21 (which in the context of a *recusatio* recalls especially the *tenuis harundo* of the sixth eclogue), and comedy by the *soccus* of l. 13, but moreover by ll. 19–20, with their reference to humour, together with the description of *mores* and *uita*, ἤθη and βίος.[51] But where *Roman* humour is concerned (*Romano … sale*), another genre with a poetics of low style, humour, and realism comes to mind: satire. In satire Persius had developed a specific type of *recusatio*, in which the opposition between the "grand" and the "small" had been shaped as an opposition between everyday subjects treated in everyday language on the one hand and the "swollen" style and themes of mythological poetry (epic and tragedy) on the other hand.[52] In Martial's epigrams this is precisely the shape that the opposition takes.

This "satirical" shape of the *recusatio* has consequences for the role of panegyric, which, in order to be convincing, needs to claim *not* to be "swollen" or unrealistic—and being realistic, it may be acceptable to a realistic poetics. This is confirmed by the position in which

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[51] For the connection with comedy in 19–20 cf. Holzberg 2002b, 126–8 and Lorenz 2002, 175, who both quote the famous *dictum* of Aristophanes of Byzantium: Ὦ Μένανδρε καὶ βίε, / πότερος ἄρ' ὑμῶν πότερον ἀπεμιμήσατο; (Syrian. *in Hermog.* 2.23 Rabe). For ἤθη = *mores* alongside βίος = *uita* cf. [Longin.] 9.15 τὰ περὶ τὴν τοῦ Ὀδυσσέως ἠθικῶς αὐτῷ [*scil.* Homer] βιολογούμενα οἰκίαν οἱονεὶ κωμῳδία τίς ἐστιν ἠθολογουμένη. Schöffel 2002, 117 sees only a reference to satire.

[52] The *recusationes* in Horace are still concerned with the rejection of panegyric (*S.* 2.1.10–20, *Ep.* 2.1.245–70), but in Persius what is rejected is mythological poetry (*pr.*, 1, 5.1–29); see Bramble 1974, and for Persius' influence on Martial Citroni 1968, 278–80. Juvenal (e.g. 1.51–4, 4.34–5) takes up both Persius and Martial. The *recusatio* in satire (which starts with Lucilius) would merit an article of its own.

epigram 8.3 occurs: it is both preceded and followed by an epigram praising the emperor. Moreover, the epistolary preface to the book, addressed to Domitian, emphatically states that Book 8 contains more panegyric (*laudes*, 8.*ep.*9) than any previous book. From the second poem of the book onwards (the first still belongs with the preface), it appears that the *laudes* of the emperor consist in praising his victory over the Sarmatians, and so are connected with the traditionally epic subject of *aspera bella* (8.3.14), even if these are still not described directly. And this is not in conflict with Martial's poetics of a "small" genre devoted to everyday life: for part of that life is the admiration we feel for the deeds of the emperor.

So the *recusatio* has made a full turn from its origins in the prologue to the *Aetia* of Callimachus: Callimachus had rejected epic themes in favour of a carefully elaborated "small" poetry, but Martial now rejects careful elaboration (which he associates with "grand" poetry), and allows the incorporation of epic themes into the small form, at least in so far as these themes are panegyric. What he rejects is not epic as such, but (both more narrowly and more broadly) mythological poetry. And thus it may happen that a *recusatio* ends with rejecting … the *Aetia* of Callimachus:[53]

> Quid te uana iuuant miserae ludibria chartae?
>   hoc lege, quod possit dicere uita "meum est".
> Non hic Centauros, non Gorgonas Harpyiasque
>   inuenies: hominem pagina nostra sapit.
> Sed non uis, Mamurra, tuos cognoscere mores
>   nec te scire: legas *Aetia* Callimachi.
>
> (Mart. 10.4.7–12)

> What pleasure do you find in the empty sham of a wretched sheet? Read *this*, of which life can say: "It's mine". You won't find Centaurs here or Gorgons or Harpies: my page smacks of humanity. But you don't want to recognize your own behavior, Mamurra, or to know yourself: you should read the *Aetia* of Callimachus. (tr. Shackleton Bailey 1993, adapted)

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[53] But Martial does consider Callimachus to be the best Greek writer of epigram (4.23). Poems related to 10.4 are 9.50 and especially 4.49, where Martial states that true *ludere* consists in writing mythological poetry; cf. *ludibria* in 10.4.7.

3. LUXURY AND LOVE: THE ENCOMIUM AS AESTHETICISATION OF POWER IN FLAVIAN POETRY

Gianpiero Rosati

The present paper is part of a more general research project on the relationships existing between two social and cultural phenomena: the “courting” of a *domina* (couched, in the literary field, in the forms of love poetry, and above all in the conception of the *seruitium amoris* of Latin elegy) and the “courtly” attitude towards a *dominus* in the social and political sphere, that is, the *imperator*. The relationship of the poet with his interlocutor and dedicatee-antagonist, who occupy a dominant position in terms of psycho-sexual power and social power respectively, takes the form of a negotiation with quite striking analogies, which have not yet been explored.[1] I will not deal here with the relationship between the “poetry of courtship” (*werbende Dichtung*)[2] and “courtly poetry”, but I will try to explore, within the encomiastic poetry of the Flavian age (that is, in Martial and Statius), some aspects of the simultaneous presence of two of the themes that make up this link, love and luxury. My aim is to show that by means of the celebration of luxury and the general aestheticisation of power, the encomiastic poet puts forward a proposal for a negotiation, suggesting a cultural and political rôle for himself in the service of the *imperator*.

A power without enemies

One of the most noticeable analogies between love poetry and encomiastic poetry is the divinisation of the *laudandus* (respectively the divine *puella*, and the emperor, *dominus et deus* according to the Domitianic formula) and the mythicisation of her/his world, of everything that surrounds her/him and benefits from the superhuman atmosphere that accompanies her/him. The phenomenon is well-known

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1 For a first attempt cf. Rosati 2003.

2 As Stroh 1971 puts it.

in encomiastic poetry,[3] and covers the whole of society and nature itself. In the rhetoric of the encomium even a "natural" element *par excellence*, the weather, is affected, by the beneficial influence of the sovereign: an epigram by Martial (4.3) succeeds in elaborating an interpretation in a "mythical" key of an atmospheric phenomenon such as snow. Snowflakes falling on the statue of Domitian (who is indifferent to the cold,[4] just as he had been during his northern military campaigns) are explained as a joke played on the sovereign by his dead son from heaven, where he has been welcomed among the gods (*siccis lasciuit aquis et ab aethere ludit*, "sports with dry waters and plays games from heaven", 7).[5] In the mythical dimension surrounding the life of the emperor, natural, earthly reality is aestheticised and sublimated in a constant relationship with the heavenly world, the physical space of the divine.[6]

Furthermore, the heaven-earth relationship as a sign of the superhuman dimension of the sovereign is a constant of the representation of the emperor and his world. When Statius opens his *Silvae* by celebrating the colossal equestrian statue of Domitian, he hypothesizes that it descended from heaven to earth in its finished form (that is, as a divine effigy: *caelone peractum / fluxit opus?*, "did it glide from the sky, a finished work?", 2–3), placing the head of the emperor on horseback (*puro celsum caput aere saeptus*, "your lofty head in the pure air", 32) in the firmament like a bright star (*superfulges*, 33). Obviously, it is not only the dimensions of the statue that justify the hyperbole, but also the pinpointing of the physical space which symboli-

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[3] For Statius cf. Szelest 1972 and especially Coleman 1999 (who links this aspect with the Hellenistic encomium).

[4] But *indulget Ioui* (3) obviously suggests, as if in an oxymoron (it is usually the gods, and above all Jupiter, who show themselves understanding and tolerant towards mortals: Sen. *Dial.* 1.4.7; *Ep.* 91.6; *A.* 10.625; *TLL* 7.1, 1247.6 and following), the emperor's benevolent condescension towards the father of the gods, thus reversing the relationship of authority in favour of the earthly "Jupiter". Of course, *indulgentia* is included among the imperial virtues celebrated by panegyric writers, as an emanation of power (e.g. Plin. *Pan.* 21.4, 38.1, 39.2, 69.6, 90.4, etc.; Courtney 1980, 353). On the cult of virtues and Roman imperial ideology cf. Fears 1981.

[5] Translations of Martial and Statius' *Silvae* (with the exception of 1.1.15–6) are by D.R. Shackleton Bailey.

[6] The same motif of the beneficial effects produced by emperor's charisma on climate in Stat. *Silv.* 4.1.24 *ipsa meae tepeant tibi sidera brumae* (said of god Janus; cf. also Coleman 1988, *ad loc.*).

cally associates the sovereign with the divine sphere.[7] Martial speaks of Domitian's palace on the Palatine in a comparable way (*Haec, Auguste … quae uertice sidera pulsat, / par domus est caelo*, "Yet, Augustus, this mansion, whose top strikes the constellations, though it equal heaven", 8.36.11–2) as a sort of *trait-d'union* between heaven and earth.[8]

While, on the one hand, an official divinisation awaits the emperor *post mortem*, on the other, he already "brings heaven to earth" in this life, and by virtue of this privilege, he opens the way to the kind of miracle which is known as the Golden Age, one of the most successful and widespread cultural myths of imperial worship (also because of Augustan political use of Virgil's poetry). Besides making it possible for gods to be present on earth and to live among men,[9] this idealised world excludes, as is well known, every form of violence and aggression, even the natural one which makes some animals the predestined victims of others. That is to say, the world governed by the laws of nature (of which animal instinct is the quintessence) is replaced by a world with a mythical basis, which is essentially the myth of the *imperator*.

The attribution of divine power to the emperor, with a consequent "mythicising" influence on reality, is known to be extremely frequent in Martial's epigrams about Domitian. Often this power is described "in action" in the spectacles in the amphitheatre organised by the emperor himself, above all in those involving the participation of tamed wild animals.[10] First of all, there are the shows in which animals perform acts of worship before the emperor, a "miracle" duly attributed to the effects of a charisma which makes itself felt in the world of nature, as well.[11] Very well known is the cycle of the hares and the lions (in Book 1), where the pattern is repeated: the lion, the most powerful of all animals, shows a miraculously meek and merciful attitude to-

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7 "The statue thus suggests both the physical presence of the emperor and his transcendent nature" (Newlands 2002, 53).

8 Coleman 1998b, 350–1.

9 On this theme see for example Catul. 64.384–408; more in Gatz 1967, 36–8. The gods are present in daily life not only in Statius (cf. n. 3), but also in Martial's encomiastic epigrams, and above all they live in close contact with the emperor (e.g. 6.10, 9.64.6); on the explicit reference to the Golden Age, cf. 6.3, and Lorenz 2002, 158 (and 85).

10 Cf. Nauta 2002a, 406.

11 Cf. Moretti 1992, 60–1 and especially n. 17.

wards its doomed victims: this miracle is obviously explained as an effect of the divine force of the *imperator* (an effect due to his actual physical presence in the circus or the amphitheatre, or in any case to the omnipresence of the sovereign which pervades imperial society).

And yet there are two points I wish to make. The first is that in the miracle of the sovereign who "tames" the lions, Martial's mythopoietic imagination seems to visualise the sovereign as a *Magna Mater*, the mother of all the gods, who tames lions and yokes them to her chariot: before her, and her civilising power, the lion, the symbol of savage strength, suddenly abandons its ferocity, and readily submits to her divine authority (as Ovid explains in *Fast.* 4.215–8: *huic genus acre leonum / praebent insolitas ad iuga curua iubas. / … feritas mollita per illam / creditur*, "for her sake the fierce breed of lions yielded their unwonted manes to the curved yoke … It's thought their ferocity was first tamed by her"). In his famous encomium of Rome in Book 6 of the *Aeneid*, Virgil had likened the city to this divinity, the mother of all the gods (784–87), making her an effective emblem of imperial power and of its boundless horizon,[12] fully in keeping with the "orientalising symbolism"[13] typical of the representation of the goddess and her universal power. It comes as no surprise when we find this fantasy which is suggested by Martial realised in the extravagant ravings of Elagabalus, whose desire is to perform in this very rôle (*iunxit sibi et leones, Matrem magnam se appellans*, "once he harnessed lions to his chariot and called himself the Great Mother", Hist.Aug. *Heliog.* 28.2).[14]

Another point I want to underline is the general interpretation that Martial gives of these games, which appears to me to contain a real ideological proposal. As has been observed, apart from an obvious entertaining function, and a more generally propagandistic and celebratory function, in some cases the games offered by the emperor to his subjects must have possessed a more precise symbolic value *already in the intentions of the organiser* (that is, the emperor). For example, when the animals doomed to die or to be yoked in the *uenationes* came from regions conquered by Rome, the aim was to create a

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12 Cf. Norden 1927, *ad loc.*

13 So Arrigoni 1984, 772.

14 But Antonius had already appeared in public on a chariot drawn by lions (Plin. *Nat.* 8.55; Plu. *Ant.* 9.8), and most probably just "because it hinted at a claim to divinity" (Toynbee 1973, 64).

spectacular representation of the power relations between the conquerors and the conquered.[15] Although a sharp distinction between a symbolic programme planned by the organisers of the games and an interpretation in a symbolic key provided by the poet who describes them cannot always be traced, it has a considerable importance in the interpretation of Martial's text.

It is by now an accepted fact that the cycle of the hares and the lions in Martial's text is to be interpreted in a symbolic key;[16] however, the correction suggested recently by Ruurd Nauta,[17] as regards an important point of this interpretation, is in my opinion well-based. While the figure of the lion, *dominus* and *rex* of the forest (*nemorum dominum regemque*, 1.60.5), obviously stands for the *imperator*, the small, weak animals do not represent only or mainly the poet as such, as is generally suggested (the hare is the symbol of Martial himself, as "small" as his poetry), but more generally, all the subjects (as is confirmed by the reference to the *Dacus puer*, "Dacian boy" (1.22.6), whom the emperor generously spares): it follows that the moral that Martial draws from his "fable",[18] that is, the question of the relationship with the sovereign, is not limited, but general in its application.

It is clear that, first of all, in the interpretation that Martial offers of the spectacle (and that perhaps the organisers had already planned) the cycle celebrates the sovereign's *clementia* (and, more generally, his ability to control the wild forces of nature). However, besides reassuring those who put their trust in the emperor's clemency, the moral has also a deterrent function, that is, it is a warning to anybody who might dare to challenge the power of the lion-emperor.[19] In other words, we find a re-affirmation of the principle *parcere subiectis et debellare superbos*: the "small animals" have no reason to be afraid of the peaceful lion (*Quid nunc saeua fugis placidi, lepus, ora leonis? / Frangere tam paruas non didicere feras*, "Wherefore, oh hare, are you fleeing the jaws of the gentle lion? They have not learned to crunch

[15] Cf. Nauta 2002a, 403 (with bibliography).
[16] See the references in Lorenz 2002, 126–34.
[17] Nauta 2002a, 410–1.
[18] On the analogies between this cycle and animal fables, cf., in the wake of Weinreich 1931, again Lorenz 2002, 128–9.
[19] Cf. Nauta 2002a, 410: "So the lions-hares-cycle is a reassuring, but at the same time an intimidating representation of the power of the emperor".

animals so small", 1.22.1–2),[20] but the big ones may have reason to worry (*Seruantur magnis isti ceruicibus ungues*, "these claws are kept for massive necks", 3). This is a comment, or a further consideration, which, very probably, is not suggested by an element of the spectacle, but is proposed by the poet who "interprets" the show. And who also adds another consideration: the hare, the small animal, need not be afraid of the lion, but, if anything, of dogs (*Praeda canum lepus est*, "a hare is prey for dogs", 1.22.5); and in order to feel safe from them, it must take refuge "in the clutches" of the biggest animal of all, who takes it under his protection. The repeated paradox of the hare playing, safe and sound, in the lion's mouth (*tutus et ingenti ludit in ore lepus*, "and the hare plays safely in the massive jaws", 1.6.4; *Dimittunt, repetunt, amantque captos, / et securior est in ore praeda*, "they let them escape, go after them again, love them when caught, and the quarry is safer in the mouth", 1.104.15–6) has an explicit motivation: the hare "in the lion's mouth" is calm, not only because it is not afraid that the lion will attack it, but also because the lion defends it from the bites of the dogs (*Si uitare canum morsus, lepus inprobe, quaeris, / ad quae confugias ora leonis habes*, "if you want to avoid dogs' bites, saucy hare, you have the lion's mouth to run to", 1.48.7–8). The "moral" that the poet draws thus expresses a precise political message: the emperor's subjects are safe if they rely on his protection, because in this way they are protected from the possible attack of other "less powerful" people. Against the attack of stronger animals (the dogs), the weak ones must rely on the protection of the strongest of all (the lion).

This cycle is a little masterpiece of rhetorical imagination, and an extraordinary example of Martial's mythopoietic ability. It is clear that, in this case as well, it is only thanks to his creative talent that the poet succeeds in exploiting a normal spectacle, like the performance of tamed animals, to communicate a precise, highly functional ideological and political message, that is, a clear proposal of loyalty and trusting submission to Caesar-the-lion. He adds a comment, an interpretation, to the description of the games:[21] and by so doing, he proposes a function for himself: that of an original interpreter and popu-

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[20] On *placidus* as a typical epithet of the imperial encomium, cf. Pitcher 1990, 87 and 91.

[21] As clearly happens also in many other epigrams which comment on exhibitions in the circus or the amphitheatre, such as e.g. 8.26 (with its compliment to Domitian on his superiority to Bacchus). On this aspect, see in general Moretti 1992.

lariser of the ideological message of the ruling power. That is to say, Martial does not limit himself to acting as a loudspeaker for the propagandistic activity of the sovereign (a function he shows himself perfectly conscious of), by celebrating the games that he offers to the masses, but he explores and exploits their symbolic potential, giving the sovereign's euergetism a "mythical" dimension which only the contribution of a man of letters can add. He is the one, with his literary talent, who distills witty remarks and comments from the performance of the games: he is the one who translates them into ideological and "political" messages. This is the basis of his initiative to negotiate before the emperor: he displays his mythopoietic ability and puts it at the disposal of the ruling power, as an instrument, not only of "perpetuation of the ephemeral"[22] and amplification of its ideological message (that is an assertion of its authority), but also of suggestion and proposal. He celebrates the spectacles, and above all he puts himself forward as their creative interpreter: he offers himself, in a certain sense, as the "ideologist" of the regime, who is above all capable of finding an original medium, easy to exploit in order to popularize that ideology (as the widespread success of his epigrams confirms).

This very success gains credit for the poet in his presentation of himself as the possible singer of the "myth" of the sovereign:[23] he shows that he is capable of creating continuity between the myth of the past, fixed in the collective memory, and the mythical dimension of the new world, the dimension created by the sovereign.[24] The image that the poet constructs is that of a benefactor of humanity who guarantees order and harmony against the forces of evil: a benevolent pro-

[22] As Coleman 1998a puts it.

[23] As Citroni 1988, 8 properly observes, in the *Liber de spectaculis* "Marziale assume quasi un ruolo di poeta ufficiale, di portavoce di importanti temi di propaganda e di culto imperiale". However, we do not know whether he *already* enjoys an acquired position and recognition, or if, on the contrary, he is demonstrating his ability to fill this rôle (on the occasion of an event which was ideal for giving a demonstration of the kind), and therefore he may be proposing his candidacy for the position (in that case, the *Liber* would reflect a situation that was still fluid and subject to negotiation).

[24] Pertinent here are the comments of Moretti 1992, 55: "il passato favoloso del mito trova conferma nel presente felice del governo dell'imperatore, e quindi il mondo della natura, il mondo umano e quello divino si piegano tutti al potere ancor più numinoso del *princeps*, in un omaggio universale che di questo potere è fondamento e insieme dimostrazione".

tector to whom the citizen-subjects are invited to entrust themselves unreservedly.

For the divulgation of this message, that is to say, for the celebration of the "myth on earth" represented by the *imperator*, the epigram is an ideal genre;[25] it cuts out a place for itself, and fits in among the events of everyday life, reflecting it and celebrating it, and in this way it can become the medium for communication between citizens at various social and cultural levels. A very similar function, from this point of view, has the genre adopted by Statius for the celebratory poetry of the *Silvae* (which the poet himself actually compares to epigrams: cf. *leues libellos quasi epigrammatis loco scriptos*, "I wrote the trifling items … like epigrams, as it were", 2.*ep*.16–7). The colloquial, informal tone of the language imitates the voice of city life, while the insistence on the pace of the composition exalts (behind the topical, false justification for the formal defects) his ability to create poetry "live", almost on command. The poet presents himself as a valuable figure in life at Rome, who elevates daily reality in the very act of living it, and illustrates and celebrates its myth: a celebrator and "master of ceremonies" of the throbbing heart of the empire.

One important aspect of Carole Newlands' book on the *Silvae* is her insistence on the fact that this work "tests the limits of panegyric"[26] and generally conducts a negotiation with the sovereign, in which Statius "acknowledges the patron's authority but also asserts the poet's control over his own medium and its independent nexus of values".[27] Newlands finds confirmation of this in the initial ekphrasis of Domitian's equestrian monument, which is not to be seen as "a monolithic expression of imperial power":[28] an ekphrasis is always an "ambiguous" reading, a second-level reading, by a poet who interprets and translates verbally the presumed message of the artistic text. The latter, in turn, a monument donated to Domitian by the people and the senate (99), combines, on the one hand, the eulogistic-adulatory language of the commissioner-dedicator, and on the other, it undoubtedly "records" the ideological language of the dedicatee (who is to be honoured, and should perceive in the work the self-image he wishes to convey).

25 "Epigram is the vehicle for courtly poetry *par excellence*" (Coleman 1998a, 30).
26 Newlands 2002, 23.
27 Newlands 2002, 26.
28 Newlands 2002, 49.

Thus we have a complex semiotic web by which Statius achieves his eulogistic strategy: the poet unites three "voices": his own, that of the dedicator and that of the dedicatee, and he controls all three of them, in the sense that he not only expresses his own voice, but he interprets *in his own way* (that is, he conditions and orientates) the other two as well. Thus, far from creating a passive reproduction of a presumed "authentic" meaning of the work illustrated (the Flavian ideology), the poet assumes a privileged position of power: he becomes the "focus" that reunites and redefines the various points of view.

So we discover here, in my opinion, a significant analogy with the attitude of Martial. As Martial proposes himself as interpreter and mediator of communication between the emperor and his subjects, so Statius here assumes, almost in a demonstrative manner, at the beginning of his encomiastic work, an intermediate rôle between the "voice of power" and the "voice of the citizens" (that is people and senate). The synthesis that he proposes is not the simple result of the dialectic of these two voices, but a new voice which incorporates them and reformulates them, imposing its own point of view: a voice which negotiates directly with the sovereign, and offers an example of a proposal and of a political initiative. Then we should not forget that any discourse about the "competition between word and marble" (like the ekphrasis of a monument) in relation to fame immediately recalls the model of Pindar (*Nemean* 5.1 and following), and implies, by the person reproposing it (that is, the holder of the "word", the poet), the assertion of a primacy and an exaltation of his own rôle,[29] and consequently, at the same time, a form of pressure on the addressee and (hopefully) patron.[30]

It is this aspect of negotiation that I want to emphasize here: all too often, the encomiastic poetry of Statius is read as gratuitous encomium, and scholars overlook its intrinsically conflictual character, and the implicit negotiating tension between what Statius concedes and what he limits himself to promising or subordinating to certain condi-

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[29] In Martial cf. 7.84, 8.3.5–8, 10.2.9–12.

[30] It should be remembered that elsewhere in the *Silvae* (5.1.1–15), Statius explicitly re-uses this topos in full detail: cf. Rosati 2002, 246–7. See also 3.3.215–6. Newlands 2002, 31–2 and 182–3 properly insists on Pindar's influence on the *Silvae*.

tions.[31] As well as for Martial, for Statius too I would insist on the direct negotiation between the poet and the sovereign, a negotiation between two powers, between the social authority of the sovereign and the literary authority of the poet, who does not fail to underline his own popular success, and implicitly, the function that he can perform on behalf of the ruling power: that is to say, he suggests a rôle for himself in the cultural policies of the regime.

The encomiastic poet is able to make credible the image of a world governed by harmony and benevolence: a world that is peaceful because it is protected by a sovereign who is feared by his enemies and loved by his subjects. The power of the emperor is appreciated by his citizens, because he guarantees safety and prosperity, thanks to a leadership which is moral, in a broad sense, that is to say, it is partly based on qualities like intelligence, good taste, and aesthetic sensitivity: a "cultural" authority, which makes the use of force superfluous, and eliminates it from reality, as confirmed by the repeated reference to the Golden Age.[32] This is the myth of the "new world": a world governed by a "soft power", which does not need to resort to force because its authority commands respect and strikes fear in its enemies, thus making the use of force superfluous. In the face of the statue of Domitian, the traces of violence are hardly perceptible amid the general mildness, expressing peace and serenity (*hunc mitis commendat eques: iuuat ora tueri / mixta notis belli placidamque gerentia pacem*, "this one his gentle rider commends: it is a pleasure to behold the face, bearing mingled the marks of war and tranquil peace", Stat. *Silv.* 1.1.15–6).[33] The result is the image of an *imperator* who refuses war (*dextra uetat pugnas*, "your right hand bans battles", 37): his tranquil sword (*ense quieto*, 43) is like the emblem of this peaceful power.[34] Strength and moderation are the typical ingredients of a panegyric topos (*Nam ut ipse nolis pugnare moderatio, fortitudo tua praestat ut neque hostes tui uelint*, "proof alike of valour and of moderation, the one denying battle to the enemy wanting it, the other denying battle to

[31] I have tried to illustrate an example of this resistance and elusiveness in Rosati 2002.

[32] On the theme of the Golden Age in first-century Latin literature, cf. Nauta 2002a, 390.

[33] I do not accept Courtney's emendation here; for a defense of the transmitted text cf. Geyssen 1996, 62–3 n. 63.

[34] As regards the image of Domitian as a "peacemaker", which was common in contemporary panegyric literature, cf. Geyssen 1996, 67–73.

yourself", Plin. *Pan.* 16.3), the corollary of which identifies peace, harmony, safety and prosperity with the *princeps* himself (*non enim pacem, non concordiam, non securitatem, non opes oramus, non honores: simplex cunctaque ista complexum omnium uotum est, salus principis*, "we do not pray for peace, concord and serenity, nor for wealth and honours: our desire is simple, all-embracing, and unanimous: the safety of our prince", Plin. *Pan.* 94.2).[35]

The world celebrated by the "courtly poetry" of the Flavian age is totally free (*sub quo libertas principe tanta fuit?*, "under what prince did liberty so flourish?", Mart. 5.19.6), without any internal enemies, and is governed by a power that does not have to face any opposition: the emperor loves his subjects, who return this love with an even greater intensity, to an extent that can find no equal (*Nullum Roma ducem, nec te sic, Caesar, amauit: / te quoque iam non plus, ut uelit ipsa, potest*, "Rome never so loved a Leader, never so loved you, Caesar. Now she cannot love even you more ardently, though she herself wish to", Mart. 8.11.7–8):[36] even Cato, the enemy of Caesar *par excellence*, would be *Caesarianus* today (Mart. 11.5.14).[37] The nature of the emperor is the opposite of that of the tyrant, whose cruelty includes specifically untamed characteristics:[38] indeed, the wild animals that miraculously abandon their natural ferocity before the emperor seem to desire to emulate his goodness, and to become the symbol of this "human" power. While the power of the tyrant is such that the person in command gives free rein to his arbitrary whim,[39] the emperor, on the contrary, is like a benevolent Jupiter, under whose power *licet* and *libet*, what is legitimate and what is pleasing, become identical for all the subjects (*et licet et sub te praeside, Nerua, libet*, "under your rule, Nerva, it's allowed, and it's our pleasure", Mart. 11.2.6): his *clementia* is contagious, it spreads, as if by a natural mimesis (*haec*

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35 A good general introduction to Pliny's *Panegyricus* is in Bartsch 1994, 148–87.

36 In Martial, see also 8.56.4, 9.7.9–10. On this panegyrical motif cf. for example Plin. *Pan.* 43.2 *nunc a pluribus amaris; nam et plures amas*; 68.5 *Amamus quidem te in quantum mereris*; 72.3–4 *Adeo nihil tibi amore ciuium antiquius, ut ante a nobis deinde a dis, atque ita ab illis amari uelis, si a nobis ameris. Et sane priorum principum exitus docuit, ne a dis quidem amari nisi quos homines ament*; etc.

37 On the paradox *Cato Caesarianus* cf. also Stat. *Silv.* 1.1.27–8 and then, in the panegyrical tradition, Claudian 17.165.

38 Cf. La Penna 1980, 10–1.

39 Cf. e.g. Hist.Aug. *Carac.* 10.2 *Si libet, licet. An nescis te imperatorem esse et leges dare, non accipere?*

clementia non paratur arte, "such clemency does not come by training", Mart. 1.104.21) which the emperor inspires in the world that he governs,[40] and does away with the need for force (that is to say, it brings the miracle of the Golden Age into being), producing everywhere kindness and love.

Luxury and Golden Age

In this world which is governed by a "tranquil force", and where love reigns universal, luxury is like an obvious complement. Instead of suffering the condemnation which, in the Roman cultural tradition, automatically fell on every transgression of the principle, *sequere naturam*, "follow nature" (Sen. *Ep.* 90.16), luxury here finds its legitimisation:[41] its refinements and its non-natural characteristics are redeemed, because they are assimilated to the positive model of the world not-according-to-nature, that is, the Golden Age: a world where nature is in practice "disnatured", stripped of its characteristics of violence, abuse of power, and toil, and everything is dominated by a universal peace and harmony.

The Golden Age is thus the conceptual instrument that encomiastic poetry uses in order to give a legitimacy to wealth. Martial, too, like Statius (and Pliny the Younger)[42] makes his contribution to the process of legitimising wealth. Clearly, the pleasures of wealth are not proposed by Martial as a general model for everyone to imitate and follow: on the contrary, he often follows the traditional line of Roman moralism, condemning wealth and exalting archaic frugality (11.11, 12.50).[43] But together with this archaising motivation, there also emerges in Martial, albeit not so strikingly as in Statius, a modernising line which celebrates the fullness of an age superior to all those of the past (*Temporibus nostris aetas cum cedat auorum*, "since our grandsires' epoch yields to our own times", 8.55.1), exalting the expressions of the "new world", especially the external, public ones, such as

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[40] Cf. Citroni 1975, 320. Cf. also 9.79.5–8 on the mildness of those living at the court of the sovereign, who take on his character.
[41] On this important aspect of the *Silvae* cf. Newlands 2002, especially 127–38; but already Corti 1991.
[42] See most recently Leach 2003.
[43] So for example Myers 2000, 112, who draws too sharp a contrast between Martial and Statius on this point.

monuments, urban buildings and decorations, and spectacles: *tot... triumphos, / tot nascentia templa, tot renata, / tot spectacula, tot deos, tot urbes*, "so many triumphs, so many temples coming to birth, so many reborn, so many spectacles, so many gods, so many cities" (6.4.2–4). The various manifestations of wealth, and even of luxury, are presented for the admiration of his readers as a visible demonstration of power and its authority, as the legitimate, natural consequence of the exceptional, superior status of the sovereign or of his *entourage*, or at least of the members of the social élite. They are the natural beneficiaries of a privilege due to their rank, which is manifested in a style of living that reflects the *dignitas* they possess, and whose effects, thanks to their liberality, benefit the whole community: it is in these terms, for example, that the poet celebrates the beauty of the villa of Julius Martial:[44]

> Hoc rus, seu potius domus uocanda est,
> *commendat dominus*: tuam putabis,
> tam non inuida tamque liberalis,
> tam comi patet hospitalitate
>
> (Mart. 4.64.25–8)

> This country place, or perhaps it should rather be styled a city mansion, *is commended by its owner*. You will think it your own, so open and ungrudging is its welcome, so liberal and courteous

Indeed, the encomiastic emphasis of the poet sometimes appropriates some traditional moralistic arguments (the spread of wealth is the cause of present-day moral corruption), cleverly turning them to the advantage of the people for whom the various encomiastic epigrams were written, in particular the sovereign. His moral excellence makes him even more meritorious, because the emperor's virtues shine out in a world like the modern one, and the reason for this is that present-day wealth has not marred his character, which is worthy of Numa: but it is far more difficult to be just nowadays than it was for Numa (*Ardua res haec est, opibus non tradere mores / et, cum tot Croesos uiceris, esse Numam*, "It is a hard thing not to sacrifice morals to wealth and to be Numa when you are richer than many a Croesus", Mart. 11.5.3–4), who had the advantage of being poor (*sed Numa pauper erat*, 2). The absolute moral superiority of the emperor would be recognised

[44] On this epigram cf. now Fabbrini 2004.

today by all the great Romans of the past (*ueteres, ingentia nomina, patres*, “the fathers of old, those mighty names”, 5), even by Cato.

The sovereign is thus an enlightened ruler who maintains the memories and the values of the past, but at the same time he prepares the future (*sic noua dum condis, reuocas, Auguste, priora: / debentur quae sunt quaeque fuere tibi*, “Thus, Augustus, while founding the new, you bring back the old. What is and what was alike are owed to you”, Mart. 8.80.7–8): he knows how to combine tradition and modernity. The “new Rome”, which Domitian’s intense building activity caused to rise out of the ashes of the old one, is made in his image (*taliter exuta est ueterem noua Roma senectam / et sumpsit uultus praesidis ipsa sui*, “so now has a new Rome thrown off her ancient length of days and taken on the countenance of her ruler”, Mart. 5.7.3–4); and Rome has never been more beautiful or greater than it is today:

> Si qua fides ueris, praeferri, maxime Caesar,
>   temporibus possunt saecula nulla tuis.
> Quando magis dignos licuit spectare triumphos?
>   Quando Palatini plus meruere dei?
> Pulchrior et maior quo sub duce Martia Roma?
>
> (Mart. 5.19.1–5)

> If truth be believed, great Caesar, no epochs can be thought superior to your times. When could men watch triumphs better deserved? When did the gods of the Palatine merit more? Under what Leader was Mars’ Rome more beautiful and great?

The pleasures of luxury are the pleasures of the empire:[45] the same language of command and control associates different fields, such as the political and economic sphere (which guarantees the sovereignty of Rome over the rest of the world and the acquisition of the resources of conquered lands), the social sphere (where the citizen is invited to rely on the sovereign’s ability to guarantee peace and safety) and the cultural sphere, where the corrective measures applied to nature are taken as a part of the general process of civilisation, in which luxury and technology are aspects to be proud of.[46]

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[45] For a general description cf. Dalby 2000; see also Myers 2000 and Connors 2000.

[46] As regards the widespread use of military imagery, cf. Myers 2000, 113–6; but for the Augustan age it is worth pointing out, in comparison with the critical tone of the precedent found in the *Georgics* (Myers 2000, 114 n. 42), the use of the imperial-

A clear demonstration of this is offered by an epigram by Martial (8.68). Here, the silk dress that covers a woman's body (and which, instead of hiding the body, exalts its forms) is quoted as an analogy for the glass which, in greenhouse cultivations,[47] protects the delicate fruit from the rigours of winter. Human technology (*ingenium*) modifies (*iubetur*) nature and its laws (such as the cyclic alternation of the seasons), mitigating the severity of the climate. What is celebrated is obviously the triumph of culture over nature: the *cultus* of an elegant female dress and the technique of cultivation in greenhouses are both forms of luxury, of correction of nature (controlling its potentially hostile forces: cf. *inuida*, 1) and protection of the patrimony that mankind possesses (such as wine, a gift of the gods).[48]

In order to designate the "glass" which protects without concealing (*perspicua*), Martial uses the term *gemma*: this is a very rare use of the word[49] (an extension of the word from precious stones to common glass),[50] which in practice transfers the idea of the precious object to the exterior, to the material which protects it from the cold, instead of associating it with the interior, with what is protected, that is, the offshoot of the vine (which is indeed technically called *gemma*: *hoc uocatur in uite gemma, cum ibi caespitem fecit*, "in the case of a vine, when this swelling makes a knob at the knot, it is called a 'gem'", Plin. *Nat.* 17.153). This linguistic shift thus ends up by identifying technology as such with a precious stone, a gem, thus making it the quintessence of luxury. The same phenomenon can be found in another epigram, where once again there is the description of the body of a woman, whose name, Cleopatra, is in itself an emblem of Oriental luxury and erotic seduction: in accordance with a narrative pattern which is frequently found in Ovid's *Metamorphoses*, the woman tries to escape from a lover who is chasing her and seeks refuge by diving into water. However, the water is so clear (*perspicua*, 8) that it does not hide anything, just as the lilies are not hidden by the glass, or the roses by the *gemma* which protects them from the cold:

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istic metaphor to celebrate *cultus* already in Ov. *Med.* 3–4 *Cultus humum sterilem Cerealia* pendere iussit / *munera*.

[47] On the technique of *specularia* cf. for example Col. 11.3.52–3 and Plin. *Nat.* 19.64, with André 1964, *ad loc.*

[48] The expression is obviously topical, but here it also underlines the moral responsibility of humanity to preserve a divine gift.

[49] It is attested only in Martial: *TLL* 6.2, 1757.16–20.

[50] Cf. for example 14.94; Plin. *Nat.* 35.48, etc.

Sed prodidit unda latentem;
   lucebat, totis cum tegeretur aquis:
condita sic puro numerantur lilia uitro,
   sic prohibet tenuis *gemma* latere rosas.

(Mart. 4.22.3–6)

But the water betrayed her hiding place: covered by all of it, she still shone. So lilies enclosed in clear glass are counted, so thin *crystal* does not let roses hide.

Here, too, the precious beauty of the lilies and the roses, which by a widely used topos stand for the object of desire,[51] is shared by the obstacle which acts as a protection and a barrier for the object, thus increasing the desire.[52] The representation of the seductive Cleopatra exalts her erotic potential by means of the reference to the technological *cultus* (the greenhouse cultivation), but the true fascination for the reader derives from the wholly literary pleasure of seeing that through the screen of Martial's text the Ovidian *Hermaphroditus* shines (*Met.* 4.344–58; which is—as Stephen Hinds would put it—the true "object of desire" of Martial's text). This creates a highly Ovidian atmosphere, in which love and luxury are combined and enhance each other,[53] and find their natural integration in the pleasures of literature.[54]

Also, in the world of the Flavian Rome which Martial describes, *quo non ars penetrat*?, "how far does art not go?" (Ov. *Ars* 3.291). The "consumer goods" of this affluent society, marked by imperial luxury, must also include the cultural ones, and first of all the consumption of literature: another epigram celebrates (through the construction of an interlocutor whose name, Severus,[55] contrasts with, and exalts, this climate of Oriental wealth) the ostentation of precious stones that Stella, the poet-friend, displays in his numerous rings:

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[51] Cf. Bömer 1976 on Ov. *Met.* 4.354–5.

[52] According to a dynamic that Hardie 2002 (especially chapter 2) has acutely illustrated in Ovid's poetry.

[53] Just as Ovid had sketched out a sociology of eros that considers luxury as its necessary complement: cf. *Rem.* 749 *non habet, unde suum paupertas pascat amorem*, and 746 *diuitiis alitur luxuriosus amor*.

[54] As Ovid himself had suggested: cf. *Rem.* 751 and 757 (which are, of course, the "negative" version of the corresponding precepts found in *Ars amatoria*: cf. 3.329–48 and the previous section on the theatre).

[55] On his identification (a son of Silius Italicus?) cf. the commentary by Howell 1995, *ad loc.*

Sardonychas, zmaragdos, adamantas, iaspidas uno
  uersat in articulo Stella, Seuere, meus.
Multas in digitis, *plures in carmine gemmas*
  inuenies: inde est haec, puto, culta manus.

(Mart. 5.11)

My friend Stella, Severus, turns sardonyxes, emeralds, diamonds, jaspers on a single finger joint. You will find many *gems* on his fingers, *more in his poetry*; hence, methinks, is his hand adorned.

Stella's refined elegance (mirrored in the precious character of this exotic language) is the hallmark of a personality which is thus manifested in every expression (even his house is described as gem-like: *gemmea tecta*, 6.47.2), and above all in the literary field (Stella is a successful elegiac poet, and the dedicatee of several of Statius' and Martial's poems):[56] the largest number of gems are to be found in his verses, and these, more than his numerous rings, make his hand truly *culta*.

This idea, *le style est l'homme même*, is the same one that Seneca applied to Maecenas (*Ep*. 114.1–10), but Martial's attitude does not contain any of the moralistic censure of the philosopher: the way used by Martial to show his admiration for the water that flows from a fountain in Stella's house (*Nympha, mei Stellae quae fonte domestica puro / laberis* …, "Nymph, gliding with pure fount in my Stella's home", 6.47.1–2) by means of a sort of oxymoron, *nympha domestica* (a phrase unparalleled), expresses this aestheticisation and mythicisation of everyday life, the accomplishment of myth in daily life.[57] This miracle of the "myth on earth" is made possible by the imperial power, and luxury makes a significant contribution to this.

In this ideology, then, luxury not only finds a full cultural legitimisation, but also reveals its precious functionality as a political instrument: it proves to be an instrument, not of disintegration (which was the traditional accusation of the moralists) but rather of social cohesion.[58] The encomiastic poetry of the Flavian Age collaborates decisively in the aestheticisation of the power that it celebrates, and the elaboration of its ideology: in so doing, it moderates its severity, and masks its aggressive characteristics. In other words, the aestheticisa-

56 Cf. Citroni 1975, 40.

57 Also in the beauty of the servants, who are assimilated to the paradigms of myth: cf. e.g. 9.103.

58 On this aspect in the *Silvae* cf. Newlands 2002, 163, 174–5, 207 and *passim*.

tion of power *an-aesthetises* the social body over which that power is exercised, making power itself benevolent and acceptable, worthy of love. This complex eulogistic strategy implies a precise proposal for a negotiation: by offering its own cultural authority, Flavian poetry shows that the appropriately reformulated language of the encomium, which was largely the product of a different, foreign political culture (Hellenistic monarchies), can become a precious instrument for the political legitimisation of autocratic power in Rome.

4. THE FEMALE GAZE IN FLAVIAN EPIC: LOOKING OUT FROM THE WALLS IN VALERIUS FLACCUS AND STATIUS

Helen Lovatt

In Mulvey's classic 1975 article, the gaze is a male preserve: men sit in a darkened cinema, following the view of the camera, also controlled by a man, actively and powerfully looking at women who are displayed on the screen as passive objects, powerless and there to be looked at.[1] Since then, there has been much debate about whether the gaze must inevitably be male, whether there can be such a thing as a female gaze.[2] If a woman watches a film, is she inevitably taking on a masculine role, becoming the temporary wielder of the male gaze? Looking and being looked at were highly sensitive matters in the ancient world.[3] Catherine Edwards has described the perils of going on stage which could ultimately lead to the loss of your voice as a citizen.[4] But this was equally true for men as well as women. Can the theory of the gaze be usefully applied to the ancient world? What can we learn from thinking about vision, power and gender together in ancient literature? These are some of the questions addressed in my current project on the epic gaze.

This paper focuses on teichoscopy and asks whether these episodes of watching from the walls are the site of a truly female gaze within epic. Teichoscopy begins in *Iliad* 3, where Priam calls on Helen to point out the Greek heroes to him as they watch from the walls of Troy. Already there we have a transgressive woman acting as narrator within this most masculine of genres. Teichoscopy is not a purely epic phenomenon, although it is marked as an epic intervention: Antigone

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1 Mulvey 1975, with Mulvey 1988.

2 For a good summary of the issues around spectatorship see Mayne 1998; specifically on the female gaze see: Doane 1982 and Doane 1988, both reprinted in Doane 1991; de Lauretis 1984; Modleski 1988, 5–9; essays by Crowie and Bergstrom in Penley 1988; essays by Gamman (Gamman 1988) and Moore (Moore 1988) in Gamman and Marshment 1988; Pribram 1988; Stacey 1994, 19–48; Polk 1997.

3 Work on issues of gaze and spectatorship within classics includes: Fredrick 2002; Davidson 1991; Feldherr 1998; Bergman and Kondoleon 1999.

4 Edwards 1997.

watches from the walls at the beginning of Euripides' *Phoenissae*;[5] Tarpeia in Propertius 4.4 falls in love with Tatius, the Etruscan commander, while she watches from the walls of Rome, and Scylla with Minos in Ovid *Metamorphoses* 8. In Flavian epic there are two episodes of teichoscopy: Statius *Thebaid* 7 and Valerius Flaccus *Argonautica* 6. While Statius puts Antigone back on the walls and follows a Homeric model of teichoscopy as exposition,[6] Valerius reworks the look of love and radically alters the teichoscopy by interspersing the episodes of looking with episodes of epic battle narrative.[7] This paper investigates the two episodes of teichoscopy. How do Antigone and Medea view the battles and what does this tell us about the model reader of epic? Do they buy into the masculine values of the epic narrator? Or are they representatives of a truly female gaze within epic?

Antigone on the walls

Let us first look at Antigone in Statius and see how she interacts with the narrative. Statius' teichoscopy is in many ways much more traditional than Valerius'. It is a way of including a catalogue of Theban forces while the army is massing for battle, before the Argives arrive in *Thebaid* 7. Antigone, in contrast to Valerius' Medea, is a passive audience, whose reactions are mostly hidden from us; her guide and narrator is much more in the centre of our gaze, treating her like a naïve pupil and telling us about his own emotions. Yet later, in Book 11, she returns to the walls and, in a subtly different way from Medea, becomes part of the action.

Eteocles hears about the imminent arrival of the Argive army and summons his allies. The troops are on display before their enemy arrives (Stat. *Theb.* 7.237–42) and an audience of Andromaches teaches a collection of Ascaniuses the glory of war, but madness and panic look ahead to the grisly realities of Statian battle. This audience is al-

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5 E. *Ph.* 88–201.

6 See Smolenaars 1994, 119–23; Statius is clearly playing with Euripides here, by making Antigone watch her own Theban troops rather than the invading army, which we have already met in the catalogue of Book 4.

7 On Valerius in general: Davis 1990; Korn and Tschiedel 1991; Malamud and McGuire 1993; Taylor 1994; Eigler and Lefèvre 1998; Hershkowitz 1998. On Book 6 there are three commentaries: Baier 2001, Wijsman 2000 and the excellent Fucecchi 1997.

ready female in its concerns, watching their own fathers (*patres*) and afraid for the future.[8] Antigone, too, is worried:

> turre procul sola nondum concessa uideri
> Antigone populis teneras defenditur atra
> ueste genas; iuxtaque comes, quo Laius ibat
> armigero; tunc uirgo senem regina ueretur.
> quae sic orsa prior: "spesne obstatura Pelasgis
> haec uexilla, pater? Pelopis descendere totas
> audimus gentes: dic, o precor, extera regum
> agmina; nam uideo, quae noster signa Menoeceus,
> quae noster regat arma Creon, quam celsus aena
> Sphinge per ingentes Homoloidas exeat Haemon."
> (Stat. *Theb.* 7.243–52)

> Far on a lonely tower, not yet allowed to be seen / by the people, Antigone defends her tender cheeks / with a black cloak; next to her is her companion, who once / was armour-bearer for Laius; then the royal girl revered the old man. / She began thus before him: "Is there any hope, father, that this company / will stand up to the Pelasgians? We hear that all the peoples / of Pelops are coming down on us. Tell me, I pray, of the foreign / columns of kings; for I see what standards our Menoeceus leads, / what weapons our Creon controls, how Haemon goes out / tall with his bronze sphinx through the huge Homoloian gates."

Antigone is a special member of this female audience and Statius specifies that she herself is not the object of anyone's gaze, playing with Euripides' version of this scene in the *Phoenissae*, where her servant is anxious both for her reputation and his own (88–102).[9] The black cloak suggests that she is already in mourning, but her careful and formal diction emphasise the quiet dignity of her status. Statius is clearly playing with multiple models here: Antigone and her old man replace Homer's Helen and Priam, turning the transgressive female narration of Helen into a sententious and didactic male narration. Antigone's black cloak replaces Helen's bright clothing.[10] He also plays a game with the expectations of his audience: in the *Phoenissae*, Antigone is eager to learn about the Argive leaders; the sequence of her speech here, where she mentions the tribes of Pelops and then says that she wants to learn about foreign kings—even though referring to the Theban allies—points to the way that "foreign" and "native" are

8 Smolenaars 1994, 118.
9 Smolenaars 1994, 124.
10 Hom. *Il.* 3.141–2; Smolenaars 1994, 125.

blurred and complex categories in the *Thebaid*.[11] The Theban allies come from closely neighbouring cities, but the contrast she draws is with members of her own family.

Smolenaars suggests that *dic, o precor* "takes the place of the traditional invocation of the Muses at the beginning of epic catalogues".[12] This then sets up an odd situation: the poet often asks the muse to teach him, and here Antigone asks Phorbas to teach her. But who is the muse and who the poet figure? Antigone is female, like the muse, and inspires Phorbas to talk, but sets up the power relationship very differently to muse and poet. Phorbas on the other hand is very much a figure of the poet, even, as we shall see, taking on Statian stylistic characteristics. So the muse seems to be asking the poet to teach her. Antigone, then, becomes a reader, like Medea. However, Phorbas' poetry is very unlike the battle scenes which Medea views. Instead it is characterised by Ovidian love affairs and Alexandrian learning.[13] For instance, he alludes to the story of Orion and Diana at 256–8 and the story of Atalanta at 267–8. Three times he digresses to tell love stories;[14] his techniques of integrating these digressions with the catalogue are distinctly Ovidian.[15] Phorbas also frequently apostrophises the places or troops he is describing,[16] and puts in the markers of "Alexandrian footnotes".[17] Antigone, then, is the audience of learned and allusive poetry, but not of battle itself, and not even of straightforward heroic epic.

We are given a much clearer picture of Phorbas' attitude to Antigone than we are of Antigone's attitudes and responses. She is hidden from the rest of the internal audience by her black cloak, and hidden,

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[11] See Lovatt 2005, 166–91 on the play of national identity in the *Thebaid.*

[12] Smolenaars 1994, 126.

[13] Smolenaars 1994, 123 calls it "Alexandrinian": "In addition to the dramatic form of the teichoscopy and the many geographical and mythological details, the catalogue is enlivened with four erotic digressions in the Alexandrinian manner".

[14] Lapithaon raped by Dercetis (296–308); Asopus angered by Jupiter's rape of Aegina (315–27) and, briefly, Narcissus (340–2).

[15] The second, for instance, is introduced through Hypseus, son of Asopus, a father worthy to behold when angry, for instance at the rape of Aegina. We come back to the catalogue thus: "we shall marvel at Hypseus like that on the Cadmean plain" (*talem Cadmeo mirabimur Hypsea campo*, 328). Narcissus is mentioned as someone who would have been there had he not been turned into a flower.

[16] For instance, at 280 he addresses Amphion, at 281–4 various Heliconian places; at 340–2 he addresses Cephisus twice.

[17] *feruntur*, Stat. *Theb.* 7.306, *datur*, 7.315, *ferunt*, 7.319.

too, from us. She does once interrupt and briefly take control of the narrative, to ask about Lapithaon and Alatreus, and inspire the first digression:

dixerat, et paulum uirgo interfata loquenti:
"illi autem, quanam iunguntur origine fratres?
sic certe paria arma uiris, sic exit in auras
cassidis aequus apex; utinam haec concordia nostris!"
cui senior ridens: "non prima errore uidendi
falleris, Antigone: multi hos—nam decipit aetas—
dixerunt fratres."

(Stat. *Theb.* 7.290–6)

He had spoken and the girl briefly interrupted him as he was speaking: / "But those men, in what origin are those brothers joined? / For the heroes certainly have matched weapons and the equal peaks / of their helmets rise up into the air; I wish that our brothers had such agreement!" / And the old man replied to her, smiling: "You are not the first to be deceived / by this error in seeing, Antigone: many have said that these are brothers, / for age deceives them."

This is the only time that Antigone intervenes in the process and shows her own attitude. Here she has looked for a model of brotherly love which puts even more clearly before her eyes the lack of love between her own brothers.[18] Phorbas' response is distinctly patronising, smiling at her mistake, using her name. At 278 he seems equally patronising, addressing her to point out how easy it is to recognise Amphion (*cognoscere pronum, / uirgo*, "it's easy to recognise him, maiden"). Yet deception and confusion of family relationships cuts to the core of what it is to belong to the family of Oedipus, to mistake father for brother and brother for father. After his digression, Phorbas directs her gaze firmly back (*sed potius … hunc aspice*, "but rather look at this man", 309) to the key hero, Hypseus, and his own agenda. But now that Antigone has inspired the first digression, he seems unable to avoid more. The last digression takes him even further from

[18] Vessey 1973, 207 says that they "serve as a double symbol,—both of fraternal concord and of parental love, contrasting with the family they have come to fight for". Smolenaars 1994, 144 points out that 291–3 recall the description of Caesar and Pompey in *A.* 6 (*illae autem, paribus quas fulgere cernis in armis / concordes animae nunc …*, "Those souls however, which you see shining in matched arms, at peace with each other now …", 826–7). Statius, then, seems to suggest that his fraternal/paternal hatred is equivalent to that of the two heroes/villains of Lucan's epic. There is also a suggestion that *A.* 6 might form a sort of teichoscopy, with Aeneas and Anchises looking down from a high place on the parade of Romans.

the task at hand and back to the family of Oedipus: Iphitus, the son of Laius' friend Naubolus, inspires him to remember the trauma of the death of Laius which he himself witnessed. Then Antigone responds empathetically to his distress by comforting him (*refouet frigentis amicum / pectus alumna senis*, "his pupil warms the freezing old man's friendly heart", 361–2).

Phorbas as a poet is characterised by angst and the rhetoric of inability; he uses the image of the poet overwhelmed by his subject matter:

> quis tibi Phoebeas acies ueteremque reuoluat
> Phocida? qui Panopen, qui Daulida, qui Cyparisson,
> et ualles, Lebadia, tuas et Hyampolin acri
> subnixam scopulo …
>
> (Stat. *Theb.* 7.343–6)

> Who could roll out for you the Apolline columns and old / Phocis? Who Panope, who Daulis, who Cyparissos, / and your valleys, Lebadia, and Hyampolis struggling beneath / a steep cliff …

The rhetoric is set against the virtuoso list of complex names.[19] Later he actually is overwhelmed by his subject matter, digressing about Laius, breaking down into tears, unable to finish his catalogue before Eteocles with his speech to his troops takes over the narrative:

> sed dum labor iners, quanti—nunc ecce reuiso—
> transabiere duces: Clonin atque in terga comantes
> non ego Abantiadas, non te, saxosa Caryste,
> non humiles Aegas altumque Capherea dixi.
> et iam acies obtunsa negat, cunctique resistunt,
> et tuus armatis iubet ecce silentia frater."
>
> (Stat. *Theb.* 7.368–73)

> But while I faint away, inactive, how many leaders—now, look, I see them again— / have gone past: I haven't told you about Clonis / and the sons of Abas with hair down their backs, nor about you, / rocky Carystos, nor low Aegae and high Caphereus. / And now my gaze is blunted and denies me, and all stand still, / and, look, your brother orders silence among the armed men."

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[19] Smolenaars 1994, 160 points out the musicality of line 343–4 and suggests that it echoes the first line of the *Thebaid*, which further underscores Phorbas' representation as a poet-figure and especially as a version of Statius himself, a *mise-en-abyme* of poets. Statius also uses this rhetorical tactic himself later in the book, at 452, of his own apparent failure to convey the panic at Thebes.

Poetic inability to encompass the subject matter becomes literally failing sight and Eteocles orders silence in the text as well as his army. Our gaze is abruptly torn away from Antigone and we hear no more of her responses. She is a fallible reader, listening to a fallible poet, neither of whom seem to have control over the poem. There is no emphasis on Antigone as viewer of actual battle (and it is not even clear she is listening to an epic) and she is offered no chance to respond to what she does see. Her female fears and concerns and empathy stand no chance against the active voice of tyranny.

In Book 11, though, she does enact a more transgressive version of teichoscopy, becoming a version of Medea, but watching her own brother. As Jocasta pleads with Eteocles not to fight, part of a series of people who make last desperate attempts to delay and stop the inevitable fratricide, Antigone goes up on the walls again:

> at parte ex alia tacitos obstante tumultu
> Antigone furata gradus—nec casta retardat
> uirginitas—uolat Ogygii fastigia muri
> exsuperare furens; senior comes haeret eunti
> Actor, et hic summas non duraturus ad arces.
> utque procul uisis paulum dubitauit in armis,
> adgnouitque—nefas!—iaculis et uoce superba
> tecta incessentem, magno prius omnia planctu
> implet et ex muris ceu descensura profatur:
> "comprime tela manu paulumque hanc respice turrem,
> frater, et horrentes refer in mea lumina cristas!
> agnoscisne hostes?"
>
> (Stat. *Theb.* 11.354–65)

> But in another part, maddened Antigone takes her silent steps / through the intervening riot—and her chaste virginity does not / slow her down—she flies raging to conquer the battlements / of the Ogygian wall; her older companion Actor keeps with her / as she goes, but he is not about to last out to the top of the citadel. / She hesitated a little when she saw the weapons far away / and recognised (unspeakable!) Polynices attacking the building / with javelins and proud voice, and beforehand she fills everything / with a great wail and addresses him from the walls as if about to come down: / "Hold back your weapons in your hand and look back for a little at this tower, / brother, and turn your dreadful crest to my eyes! Do you recognise your enemies?"

Here Antigone has taken on a sort of madness, enraged as if she is becoming a warrior, and abandons her womanhood (*nec casta retardat / uirginitas*, 11.356–7), along with convention, like Argia in Book

12, who leaves behind her sex (*sexu relicto*, 12.178). She becomes both a version of Capaneus, conquering the walls of Thebes, and a version of a fury, flying and raging. Again, playing on the *Phoenissae*, and looking back to the teichoscopy, she has a chaperone, but she leaves him behind in her inevitable upward progress. To start with, the sight of war affects her, but she overcomes her hesitation, and intervenes with her lament, stopping battle by the power of the woman's role as mourner. At the same time, *ceu descensura* suggests that she might intervene physically in the battle, leaving the frame, the audience, the walls, and joining the fighters below: or perhaps become a second Menoeceus and throw herself off the walls. Instead, her speech demands that Polynices looks at her, enacting a reversal of teichoscopy, taking the visibility of the woman wielding the gaze to new heights. By asking him to look back at the tower, she evokes Argia at 4.88–92, when Polynices looks back and sees his wife standing out from the tower and his mind is drawn away from Thebes. Antigone becomes a version of Argia, offering love instead of war, family reunion instead of enmity. This substitution, with its mirror image in Book 12 in which Argia takes on Antigone's role, strengthens the link between the two women. We might then think of the elegiac tradition of women, like Tarpeia, who betray their fatherland to save the one they love—a link to Medea as well.[20] When she asks him to turn his crest towards her, this also might imply a conflict between his crest and her eyes, the crest an emblem of masculine display, her eyes representing feminine vulnerability. At the same time she demands that he recognise who his enemies are, that they are family, just as she has recognised him.

Here then is a radical reworking of teichoscopy where Antigone takes a clearly female oppositional stance towards epic, but also becomes a version of the dangerous lamenting fury who only perpetuates battle, in her madness, the power of her gaze and her lament. Ultimately, though, she is powerless before the real Fury, who throws Eteocles bodily out of the gate and shouts his challenge for him (387–92), kickstarting the final battle.

[20] On elegiac overtones in the *Thebaid*, see Bessone 2002.

Medea viewing the narrative

Let us turn now to Medea. In *Argonautica* 6, Jason and the Argonauts have arrived at Colchis and Aeetes, Medea's father, has promised them the golden fleece if they fight for him in his war against his brother Perses. This episode is hardly mentioned in Valerius' main surviving model, Apollonius Rhodius;[21] here it takes a whole book of narrative.[22] Civil war, and war between brothers, then, becomes the occasion of Medea falling in love with Jason. Here we see Juno, Jason's patron goddess, devising a way to make Medea help him with the inevitable tasks to come after the battle. She borrows from Venus the girdle of love, takes on the disguise of Medea's sister Chalciope, and persuades her to begin her teichoscopy:[23]

> "ergo nec ignotis Minyas huc fluctibus" inquit
> "aduenisse, soror, nec nostro sola parenti
> scis socias iunxisse manus? at cetera muros
> turba tenet fruiturque uirum caelestibus armis.
> tu thalamis ignaua sedes, tu sola paterna
> fixa domo; tales quando tibi cernere reges?"
>
> (V. Fl. 6.482–7)

> "So," she said, "do you alone, sister, not know that the Argonauts have come here over the unknown seas and joined our father as allies? But everyone else crowds the walls and enjoys the heavenly arms of the heroes. You sit a coward in your bedroom, you alone are fixed in your father's house; when else will you see such kings?"

Juno suggests that for Medea watching the epic battle is both a pleasure and a responsibility.[24] She needs to know about her father's allies and to sit in her bedroom is a sort of cowardice, as if watching the battles is the female equivalent of participating in them. On the other hand, epic battle is a spectacle, a once only performance for the pleasure of those watching.[25] Juno implies that it is so natural for women to

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21 A.R. 3.352–3 and 3.392–5 mention a possible war of conquest against the Sauromatae in exchange for the golden fleece. See Zissos 2002 on Valerius' complex appropriation of his various models.

22 See Baier 1998.

23 Baier 2001, 216–7.

24 Fucecchi 1997, 17 says that this argument from social responsibility echoes Anna's persuasion of Dido in *Aeneid* 4.

25 Zissos 2003 reads this spectacle as a "gladiatorial show, with Jason as the star performer" (668). He argues that Valerius Flaccus achieves "the reconfiguration of battle as a kind of mass entertainment". However, his insistence that "[b]y suspending

watch the battles that only ignorance or cowardice could be keeping Medea away.

When the two arrive at the walls to watch, we see another side of epic viewing; they are struck with horror at the sight:

> ast illae murorum extrema capessunt
> defixaeque uirum lituumque fragoribus horrent,
> quales instanti nimborum frigore maestae
> succedunt ramis haerentque pauore uolucres.
>
> (V. Fl. 6.503–6)

> But they made for the edge of the walls and, struck motionless, they shudder at the crashes of men and trumpets, just as birds sad at the pressing cold of the clouds perch on branches and stick there in fear.

Defixae suggests that they are completely engrossed by the spectacle and *horrent* might simply suggest the impact of the noise rather than actual repugnance. The image, however, makes the tone more negative: birds at the onset of winter are paralysed by cold and their fear is fear of their own death. Fucecchi, in his excellent commentary on the teichoscopy, points to the similarities between this image and the description in *Georgics* 4 of the shades in the underworld listening to Orpheus:[26]

> at cantu commotae Erebi de sedibus imis
> umbrae ibant tenues simulacraque luce carentum,
> quam multa in foliis auium se milia condunt,
> Vesper ubi aut hibernus agit de montibus imber
>
> (Verg. *G.* 4.471–4)

> But the insubstantial shades from the deep places of Erebus come, and the ghosts of those lacking light, moved by song, as many as the thousands of birds who rest on leaves, when either evening or a winter storm drives them down from the mountains.

This similarity underlines the link between the viewers of battle and the audience of song; but the differences are as marked as the similarities. The shades seek the song of Orpheus like birds seek safety from bad weather in trees; the hint is that they can find in the song of Orpheus the light and life they lack. In Valerius Flaccus' version of the

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any sense of anxiety on the part of the civilian onlookers, Juno presents the scene as pure spectacle" ignores the ambivalence of Valerius' representation of viewing, the horror mixed in with the enjoyment, let alone the complexity of Medea's gaze.

26 Fucecchi 1997, 137. On Valerian intertextuality in general, see: Fucecchi 1996; Zissos 1999; Zissos 2002. Baier 2001, 221 points rather to *A.* 6.309–12.

simile, the birds do not find any refuge from the cold; they perch on branches rather than leaves and are still exposed to the weather. The implication is that the watchers on the walls are paralysed by fear in the same way that the birds are paralysed by cold.[27] There seem to be two sides to the viewing and reading experience: the enjoyment of the spectacle balanced against the fear and horror. The suspense and horror are part of the narrative pleasure of the spectacle; the "further voices" of epic are in fact part of its central voice.

The teichoscopy starts in earnest at V. Fl. 6.575–601, with *ecce autem ... Medea* ("but behold ... Medea"), which immediately sets up Medea as the object of the reader's gaze.[28] She begins the passage as the model reader of epic, following "individual struggles" (*singula certamina*, 576), as the linear narrative of a poem must, rather than taking a panoramic view of the battle as a whole.[29] This passage puts her in the role of the traditional audience of teichoscopy, asking and learning about the heroes on display; yet the only hero she asks about in direct speech is Jason. She is distanced from the reader by the "thick dust" of battle (*densa caligine*, 577), which emphasises the physical difficulty of watching a battle in progress from some distance away. Her problems recognising the participants do not arise simply from ignorance but also from her viewing situation: we as epic readers can always see the battle very clearly, and have the narrator as instructor to tell us who the characters are.[30] As she becomes a fan and follows Jason with her "favouring mind" (*animum fauentem*, 580), does Medea then go beyond the reader of epic? Probably not: epic as spectacle has its winners and losers and we too are manipulated into favouring one or the other. When she starts to anticipate the action, "seeing it before it happens" (*ante uidens*, 582), then, too, she is like a reader who second guesses where the narrative is leading and knows

[27] *Haerent* also links this moment to Medea's later fixation on Jason (*haeret*, 658); the engrossment of listener and viewer is also the paralysis of the lover.

[28] Medea sitting is also a charged image: iconography of Medea often represents her in a masculine pose, standing with a sword. Here she is consciously feminised, the object of our gaze. On this passage, see Baier 2001, 235–9.

[29] Zissos 2003, 669, n. 32 reads this as a gladiatorial spectacle in which one star contestant takes on a series of opponents, but Medea is not yet focusing on Jason (not to mention the fact that more than one fight was often taking place simultaneously in gladiatorial spectacle).

[30] Perhaps we should take a hint from Medea's situation to be careful about relying on our instructor, for Juno as *magistra* has a clear agenda: to bring Jason to the forefront and destroy Medea.

that the hero so lovingly introduced and described will shortly bite the dust; she has, as it were, a horizon of expectations which can be shaken up by the actual outcome. But the continual sight of Jason stops her in her tracks. Wherever she looks, whoever she looks for, she sees him. And the parallels between the description of his effect on her and his effect on the opposing warriors cast her too as his victim in war. The heroes he attacks are "wandering" (*errantes*) and he "stops them" (*sisteret*, 583), an odd description of fighting, which fits in with Medea's "wandering gaze" (*uaga lumina*, 584) and the way the sight of him continually holds it up. But the line which actually describes Jason meeting Medea's gaze evokes a clash between heroes in battle: *saeuus ibi miserae solusque occurrit Iason* ("savage Jason alone meets the wretched woman there", 586). By the end of the passage she seems to be actually joining him on the battlefield in the intensity of her gaze: *ardentesque uiri percurrere pugnas* ("to run alongside the burning combats of the hero", 601) suggests that she is running alongside him as much as following him with her eyes.[31]

This trend intensifies in the next passage (657–89). The verbs continue to suggest physical involvement as if her gaze has literally drawn her into the picture. Whereas she was figured as his victim in battle, now she pursues him and sticks to him (*persequitur*, *haeret*, 658). *At regina uirum ... persequitur* ("But the queen pursues the hero", 657) mirrors their closeness in the word order. By the end of the passage, she is feeling every blow that he feels: whenever he is struck, she herself is beaten (*quotiens ... totiens ... pulsatur*, 683–5), literalising her increasing identification; finally at 686 she is more intensely involved than Jason himself, emphatically "first" (*prima* even comes at the beginning of the line) to recognise the threat of Lexanor's bow against Jason. This identification extends to the imagery: at 601, Jason's "battles are burning" (*ardentes ... pugnas*); at the beginning of the next passage, her "eyes are burning" (*oculisque ardentibus*, 658). The pleasure of watching is also the "sweetness of the savage flame" of love (*saeuae dulcedine flammae*, 663) and the necklace of Juno infects her with its flames too (*flagrantia*, "flaming", 669). The flames of love are identified with the flames of war.

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[31] Baier 2001, 239 glosses *percurrere* with *oculis*.

The imagery of storm also links love and war, Medea and Jason. At 664–7, Medea's suddenly increasing love and madness are compared to a sudden storm:

> ac uelut ante comas ac summa cacumina siluae
> lenibus adludit flabris leuis Auster, at illum
> protinus immanem miserae <sensere> carinae,
> talis ad extremos agitur Medea furores.
>
> (V. Fl. 6.664–7)

> And just as the mild south wind at first plays with the highest tops of the woods with gentle breezes, but suddenly the wretched ships feel that it is huge, so Medea is driven to extreme madness.

Fucecchi links this image to *Aeneid* 7 and the moment of the beginning of that civil war:[32]

> fluctus uti primo coepit cum albescere uento,
> paulatim sese tollit mare et altius undas
> erigit, inde imo consurgit ad aethera fundo.
>
> (Verg. *A.* 7.528–30)

> Just as when waves grow white with the first wind, / little by little the sea raises itself and draws up its waves / on high, then it rises together from its depths to the sky.

Love as storm meets war as storm and later in the passage the metaphor of storm creeps into the description of Jason's battle. The rocks and spears thrown against Jason are a "rainstorm" (*imber*, 685).

Intertextual links with the *Aeneid*, too, draw Medea ever closer to Jason. *At regina* activates the ever-present link with Dido through the beginning of *Aeneid* 4 (the first two words of the book).[33] Dido, too, falls in love with Aeneas through her gaze and as an audience of epic.[34] When she holds and looks at Cupid masquerading as Ascanius, "she sticks to him with eyes and heart": *haec oculis, haec pectore toto / haeret* (*A.* 1.717).[35] The process of falling in love is entwined with the process of listening to Aeneas' account of his epic battles and journey: *infelix Dido longumque bibebat amorem, / multa super Pri-*

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[32] Fucecchi 1997, 222.

[33] Fucecchi 1997, 217 also points to the links with Amata. Baier 2001, 251 contrasts Medea's situation with Dido in Book 4.

[34] Another link is with Hypsipyle earlier in the poem; she too is *regina* and like Dido she hangs on every word of her glamourous visitor; here too the word *haeret* is used.

[35] Fucecchi 1997, 138.

amo rogitans, super Hectore multa ("unfortunate Dido was drinking a long draught of love, / asking many things about Priam and many about Hector", 1.749–50).[36] The closest verbal link of fixated viewing (*haeret*, 658, as well as *defixae* and *haerent* at 504 and 506), however, is with Aeneas, not Dido: at the moment of transition between looking at the pictures on the temple of Juno portraying his own epic past and looking at Dido, *defixus* and *haereo* come together: *Haec dum Dardanio Aeneae miranda uidentur, / dum stupet obtutuque haeret defixus in uno* ("While these things seemed amazing to Dardanian Aeneas, while he was stupefied and stuck fixed in one gaze", 1.494–5).[37] Falling in love and falling into epic, Medea is a version both of Dido and Aeneas.

We have seen, then, the changing nature of Medea's viewing: how she starts from a perspective similar to the reader of epic, enjoying the spectacle and simultaneously shocked by the horror of war. As she watches, she moves from a detached to an involved perspective, identifying so strongly with Jason that she almost seems to become him; at the same time, war and love seem to work in parallel as images of each other, sharing imagery of burning and storm. Yet Medea does not think like a warrior. Her predominant emotion is fear; Jason, when we watch the war briefly from his viewpoint, rejoices in the sight (*gaudens*, 546):

> atque hos in medio duri discrimine belli
> laudibus inque ipsis gaudens ubi uidit Iason
> "macte" ait "o nostrum genus et iam certa propago
> Aeoliae nec opina domus; sat magna laborum
> dona fero, satis hoc uisu quaecumque rependo."
>
> (V. Fl. 6.545–9)

[36] Other verbal similarities between description of Medea and Dido: Medea is *infelix* at 490; *inscia* (Verg. *A.* 1.718) is echoed in *quas alit inscia curas* (V. Fl. 6.660); the flame imagery around Medea's viewing links to *ardescit tuendo* (*A.* 1.713). Beginning of Book 4: *At regina graui iamdudum saucia cura / uulnus alit uenis et caeco carpitur igni, / multa uiri uirtus animo multusque recursat / gentis honos; haerent infixi pectore uultus / uerbaque nec placidam membris dat cura quietem.* ("The hurt queen has now nourished a wound in her veins with heavy care for a long time and is plucked by blind fire; the great courage of the hero and the high honour of his race run backwards and forwards in her mind; his face sticks fixed in her heart and neither words nor worry give peaceful rest to her limbs.", *A.* 4.1–5). For all these similarities and more, see Fucecchi 1997, 127.

[37] Fucecchi 1997, 138 points to this link.

> And Jason, rejoicing when he saw them in the middle / of the struggles of harsh war and praiseworthy deeds / said: "Bravo, o my race, now certainly the offspring / of Aeolia, not your home in opinion only; great enough gifts of labour / I bring; whatever I pay in return, there is enough in this sight."

When Medea identifies with Jason to the fullest extent, paradoxically she retains her female perspective. The dangers inspire him to rejoice but her to fear, and she becomes a woman in the midst of an epic battle. But does this fear constitute a rejection of epic values? Is her female perspective anti-epic?

Narrating the viewer

At the beginning of the teichoscopy, Medea seems to watch like an epic reader and the narrator seems to share her attitudes: Medea is a model reader. After the passage where Juno and Medea arrive at the walls and are horrified by the war, the narrator too focuses on the horror of war:

> iamque Getae iamque omnis Hiber Drangiaque densa
> strage cadit legio et latis prosternitur aruis.
> semineces duplicesque inter sua tela suosque
> inter equos saeuam misero luctamine uersant
> congeriem et longis campos singultibus implent.
> uictores patrium contra paeana Geloni
> congeminant; eadem redeunt mox gaudia uictis
> qua deus et melior belli respexit imago.
> quis tales obitus dederit, quis talia facta
> dic age tuque feri reminiscere, Musa, furoris.
>
> (V. Fl. 6.507–16)

> And now the Getae, all Hiberia and the Drangian legion are falling in densely packed slaughter and are laid out over the broad fields. Men half-dead and bent double among their own weapons and their own horses twist the savage heap in a wretched struggle and fill the fields with their long gasps. The victorious Geloni redouble their patriotic song of praise in response, and soon the same joys return to the conquered, where god and a better image of war look at them again. Who set up such deaths, who did such deeds, come tell me, Muse; remember the wild madness.

Half-dead warriors struggling to escape from piles of corpses are contrasted with the resounding joy of the victors. This contrast between

joy and horror reflects the contrast between "Juno's" and Medea's eagerness to watch the spectacle at 6.482–7 and the negative tone of the simile describing their horror on arrival (6.503–6). The narrator seems to share Medea's attitude. However, the passage ends with a new invocation to the muse, marking the authority of the epic narrator, his omniscience and objectivity; Medea's view-point is only one response to the events. She is not the only focaliser of this narrative. We have already seen Jason's joy in watching and there are events in the passages of battle narrative of which she cannot be aware. For instance, we watch through the eyes of Jupiter at 621–30 when he mourns the impending death of his son Colaxes. Medea's view-point, then, is clearly distinct from the narrator's perspective. As she starts to identify with Jason, she no longer takes pleasure in the spectacle: at 659 she is "less happy in the spectacle of battle before her" (*et iam laeta minus praesentis imagine pugnae*); the summary of her experience at the end of the passage makes fear and suffering the predominant emotions: *aegraque muris / digreditur longum uirgo perpessa timorem* ("the girl goes away from the walls, sick after suffering long fear", 753–4). She even seems to question the point of war itself, or at least the necessity of Jason fighting this particular war, when she wonders aloud to the disguised Juno whether her father will keep his promises:

> ac prior his: "credisne patrem promissa daturum,
> o soror, Argolicus cui dis melioribus hospes
> contigit? aut belli quantum iam restat acerbi?
> heu quibus ignota sese pro gente periclis
> obicit!"
>
> (V. Fl. 6.675–9)

> And first she says these things: "Do you believe, sister, that our father will give what was promised, for whom the Argive guest arrived through the favouring gods? Or how much bitter war now remains? Alas, to what dangers does he expose himself on behalf of an unknown race!"

It is this speech which persuades Juno that her plan has worked: Medea has fallen in love and abandoned the values of the epic norm. For Jason, glory is sufficient reason to undertake the whole quest, let alone this war:[38] Medea sees only the bitterness of war and her fear for

[38] Personified Glory persuades him to take up the challenge: *tu sola animos mentesque peruris, / Gloria! te uiridem uidet immunemque senectae / Phasidis in ripa*

Jason. Yet even before she has fallen for Jason, her perspective is distinctively female. Going back to the beginning of the teichoscopy, she does not watch the battles indiscriminately but looks for her own connections: *aut fratris quaerens aut pacti coniugis arma* ("seeking the weapons of either her brother or her fiancé", 585). Juno sets up epic success as desirable:

> aspicis ut Minyas inter proceresque Cytaeos
> emicet effulgens quantisque insultet aceruis?
>
> (V. Fl. 6.595–6)

> Do you see how he flashes out among the Argonauts and the Colchian leaders, shining, and over what great heaps of dead he triumphs?

Yet when Medea expresses admiration for his *uirtus*, she is trying to mask her growing infatuation with Jason behind a more acceptable interest in his heroic prowess:[39]

> "quis, precor, hic toto iamdudum feruere campo
> quem tueor quemque ipsa uides? nam te quoque tali
> attonitam uirtute reor."
>
> (V. Fl. 6.588–90)

> "Who, I pray, is this man whom I am watching and you yourself see, who has seethed through the whole battlefield for a long time now? For you also, I think, are amazed at such courage."

Medea's enjoyment of the spectacle of epic battle is destroyed by her female fears for the safety of her beloved; does she then subscribe to the further voices of epic? Is the female gaze a pitying gaze?

The short answer is no. When the warrior Myraces dies, the narrator utilises his full epic armoury to evoke pity for his death:

> sanguine tunc atro chlamys ignea, sanguine uultus
> et grauidae maduere comae, quas flore Sabaeo
> nutrierat liquidoque parens signauerat auro.
> qualem si quis aquis et fertilis ubere terrae
> educat ac uentis oleam felicibus implet,
> nec labor adsiduus nec spes sua fallit alentem,
> iamque uidet primam tenero de uertice frondem

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stantem iuuenesque uocantem. ("You alone, Gloria, set hearts and minds on fire, he sees you, fresh and immune to old age, standing on the shore of Phasis, calling the young men.", V. Fl. 1.76–8).

[39] See Fucecchi 1997, 25. "Medea aspira più o meno consciamente ad accomunare a sé la falsa sorella in un sentimento di ammirazione del tutto legittimo e non passibile di sospetto."

cum subito immissis praeceps Aquilonia nimbis
uenit hiems nigraque euulsam tendit harena:
haud secus ante urbem Myraces atque ipsius ante
uirginis ora cadit; sed non magis illa mouetur,
unius aegra metu, quam te, Meleagre, furentem,
quam Talaum uidet aut pugnas miratur Acasti.
at satis hos ipsae gentes campique uidebant
tempestate pari uersis incumbere turmis.
ante oculos fuga foeda ducum largusque cadentum
it cruor et currus dominis ingentibus orbi.

(V. Fl. 6.708–24)

Then the fiery cloak [of Myraces] was wet with black blood, his face was wet with blood, and his heavy hair, which his mother had nourished with Sabaean flowers and marked with liquid gold. Just as when someone brings up an olive tree with waters and the richness of fertile earth and fills it with favouring breezes, and the constant work and his hope do not deceive the gardener and now he sees the first leaf on the tender treetop when a headlong storm of north wind comes from the rushing clouds and stretches it torn out on the black sand: no differently did Myraces fall before the city and before the face of the girl herself. But sick with fear for one man she is not moved any more than if she saw you in your madness, Meleager, or Talaus, or wondered at the battles of Acastus. But the peoples themselves and the fields had enough of seeing those men press on the squadrons who had been put to flight in equal storm. Before their eyes runs the foul flight of the leaders and generous blood of the fallen and the chariots bereaved of their great lords.

The death of Myraces displays the epic voice in its full glory; the image is a very close imitation of *Iliad* 17.53–8 describing the death of Euphorbus at the hands of Menelaus,[40] a show-case of the pathos of war, the "further voice" central to the bittersweet experience of reading epic. Yet the narrator makes it clear that Medea does not view the death of Myraces with the same pleasure in pain as the model reader of epic, if, indeed, she notices it at all. She is now completely distanced from the narrator and his readers by her obsessive personal concern for Jason. The specific way in which this is expressed emphasises how she rejects both the glory of war and the pathos of war: she pays no more attention to Myraces' moving (epic) death than she does

[40] Wijsman 2000, 271; Baier 2001, 260.

to the glorious and successful fighting of the other Argonauts:[41] Jason alone is the object of her gaze.

The final question I want to address is whether Medea is truly representative of a "female gaze"? Her perspective and attitudes clearly differ from that of the narrator and his "ideal readers", but are they oppositional and anti-epic? Does she constitute an effective and powerful wielder of the female gaze? First, Medea is hardly a typical woman; the description of her at the beginning of this passage emphasises her atypicality, her unusual power and ferocity (6.439–54). As a powerful sorceress, she is the transgressive, terrifying Medea of previous myth who will destroy Jason and her own children. Her disregard for right and wrong are linked to her fearless vision: *nullum mente nefas, nullos horrescere uisus* ("nothing is unspeakable to her mind, she shudders at no sight", 6.453). Secondly, her love is portrayed as a kind of dangerous madness; there are significant parallels with Allecto's maddening of Amata in *Aeneid* 7, which eventually leads to suicide and the destruction of her city. This male portrayal of female love, of the desiring woman as monster, might encourage us to reclaim Medea as a feminist icon, a powerful woman wielding the gaze and taking over Jason's role as hero, but the epic narrator certainly does not encourage this reading. Further, she is not secure in her position of power: though she gazes at Jason, she is also the object of Juno's gaze, and the gaze of the audience both internal and external. When Juno chooses her as the instrument through which her plan will be achieved, the processes of her mind are described in visual terms.[42] And when Medea finally gives in to her infatuation, she herself is dangerously exposed to the gaze of other watchers on the walls and battlefield: *imminet e celsis audentius improba muris / uirgo* ("the reckless girl stands out more daringly from the high walls", 681–2). We could, then, exclude Medea from holding the female gaze, both because she is too powerful and not powerful enough: she is too powerful to be anything other than a transgressive woman, a monster rather than a woman; yet her femininity, her look of love, exposes her

[41] Zissos 2003, 669, n. 32 takes a different tack when he says of lines 717–20: "This intriguing Lucanesque negative enumeration underscores the amphitheatrical reprocessing of the scene, which has transformed the large-scale battle into a spectacle with a single focal point. Through this authorial gesture, the amphitheatrical reprocessing of the larger battle narrative is laid bare."

[42] See *cernens* at V. Fl. 6.429 and *uidet* at 451.

to the gaze of the reader. The concept of a female gaze is self-contradictory; if we define the holder of the gaze as the holder of power and the female as powerless, then a female gaze cannot exist. Yet Medea is simultaneously powerful and powerless; her internal contradictions map onto the contradictions of the female gaze. Perhaps, in the end, she does represent a female gaze, a different way of looking at epic, a subjectivity that does not conform to the narrator's picture of the world, a reading against the grain.[43]

[43] Many thanks to the editors for insightful comments and to audiences in Cambridge and Nottingham, as well as Groningen.

5. SAILING AND SEA-STORM IN VALERIUS FLACCUS (*ARGONAUTICA* 1.574–642): THE RHETORIC OF INUNDATION

Andrew Zissos

1. *Introduction*

A pivotal global event in the early stages of Valerius Flaccus' narrative is the inauguration of sea navigation. The sailing of Argo, the world's first ship, represents a defining moment in human history, bringing into contact lands and peoples that had previously been separated by the natural partition of Ocean. As with other literary treatments, the ideological and rhetorical construction of this foundational act is a matter of overpowering importance in the *Argonautica*. But the poem's ideological stance vis-à-vis the invention of navigation has proven to be notoriously difficult to pin down: a clear scholarly consensus has yet to emerge, and critical opinions are often widely divergent. Martha Davis, for example, speaks of Argo's voyage depicted as "primal fault", while James Shelton sees Valerius' treatment as establishing the "legitimacy of sailing".[1] This paper will attempt to explain why such contradictory perspectives have been—and continue to be—plausibly asserted. I shall argue that, through the use of ambivalent rhetorical and figural constructions, the Flavian *Argonautica* simultaneously posits and exasperates the conventional paradigms of ethical judgment—namely, primitivism and progressivism—that inform the ancient literary debate. This equivocation in the face of competing ideological constructions is typical of Valerius' aporetic approach: the provocative richness of the *Argonautica* arises more from the problems that its intertextual modalities and symbolic frameworks allow it to pose than from any coherent ideological solution it has to offer.

A key to understanding Valerius' storm-scene can be found in the pervasive terminology and imagery of gigantomachy (and its close

[1] Davis 1990, 62, supported by, e.g., Boyle 1991; Shelton 1974, 22, supported by, e.g., Hershkowitz 1998, 217. Adamietz 1976, 25; Schubert 1984, 24–5; Feeney 1991, 330–5 and Hardie 1993, 83–6 offer more balanced discussions of the tensions (and resultant critical oscillations) between the two positions.

relative, titanomachy) employed by the poet.[2] The early narrative is replete with allusions to the great primordial conflict in which the Giants, archetypal agents of chaos and disorder, attempted to storm heaven and overthrow the cosmic ascendancy of Jupiter and the Olympian gods. Indeed, much of the first book of the poem is concerned with the issue of gigantomachy, figuratively conceived, which is used as the principal evaluative paradigm for the sailing of Argo.[3] On the one hand, Boreas, Neptune and other divinities associated with the sea perceive the sailing of Argo as a gigantomachic offense.[4] On the other, Jupiter (with the support of Juno and Minerva) assimilates the Argonauts' conquest of the sea to his own order-imposing achievements as Titan conqueror and Giant slayer.[5] The narrative is thus invested with a dialogism whereby the notion of cosmic rebellion constitutes a shared semiotic element that gives rise to contrasting ethical constructions. Virtually everyone involved in the episode conceives of the Argonauts' mission in terms of gigantomachic metaphors, including Jason himself in an early prayer to Neptune:

> "… scio me cunctis e gentibus unum
> inlicitas temptare uias hiememque mereri:
> sed non sponte feror nec nunc mihi iungere montes
> mens tamen aut summo deposcere fulmen Olympo."
>
> (V. Fl. 1.196–9)

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[2] For the widespread tendency of Roman poets to conflate gigantomachy and titanomachy, see Hardie 1986, 95.

[3] The discussion will be confined to the play of gigantomachic imagery and metaphors in Book 1. Elsewhere in the poem, gigantomachy/titanomachy seems to be invoked to address issues of poetics, as it often is in Augustan poetry: see Innes 1979, 165. At 2.16–33, for example, Valerius vividly describes the geography of Pallene as the physical aftermath of the gigantomachy (2.16–33), thereby supplying an indirect treatment of the theme not unlike his Augustan predecessors. At 5.692–3 Jupiter is described being entertained by the Muses singing of the gigantomachy—again with a sense of "Augustan" indirection. For the motif of gigantomachy used for political, religious and moral allegory in Roman literature, see Hardie 1986, 103.

[4] The assembled marine divinities decry the sailing of the Argo as a breach of natural law (*legem*) at 1.213–4; Sol also uses primitivist arguments to make the case against sailing at 1.509–16; even the Argonauts themselves fleetingly espouse this view during the storm (1.627–32).

[5] On the connection between gigantomachy and the Argonautic expedition, see Feeney 1991, 332–4; Hardie 1993, 83–7, esp. 83: "Jason's journey may be understood as a geographical inscription of the victory of the sky god Jupiter over chthonic opponents, the Titans and Giants".

> "… I know that I alone among all peoples am trying these forbidden paths, and that I deserve a storm. But I do not sail willingly, nor do I have in mind to join together mountains or summon down a thunderbolt from highest Olympus."

This prayer operates according to a preemptive hermeneutic that attempts to forestall a primitivist "reading" of the sea voyage as hubristic excess. With the phrase *inlicitas temptare uias* Jason acknowledges a potential domain transgression. The mention of "joining together mountains" makes the allusion explicit: it was by piling mountains on top of one another that the giants tried unsuccessfully to scale heaven.[6] No less pointed is the anxious reference to *fulmen*: the thunderbolt was the habitual means by which Jupiter struck down hubristic challenges to his universal ascendancy, and the most celebrated example of Jupiter's thundering was against the Giants.[7] Thus, in giving voice to hubris anxiety, or concern over divine approval for his mission, Jason's prayer sets the figural and conceptual terms in which the early narrative unfolds.[8] From the outset the event itself—that is, the sailing of Argo—is predestined and irrevocable; what appears to be at stake is its rhetorical and ideological construction.

The density of imagery and terminology associated with gigantomachy arises from Valerius' overlapping use of two distinct figural systems, both of which were rich in gigantomachic tropes. The first, unsurprisingly, is the traditional Roman poetic discourse on the invention of sea-navigation, which took a negative, essentially primitivist, view of the sailing of the first ship, characterizing it as a violation of natural law. The second figural system is imported from Virgil's storm passage in *Aeneid* 1, the principal intertextual model for Valerius' own storm-scene. Since these two embedded discourses are used to provide opposing constructions of the same epochal event, and do so via the same symbolic code, the resulting antinomy is at once

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[6] The mountains in question were Pelion, Ossa, and Olympus (Hom. *Od.* 11.315–6; Verg. *G.* 1.281–3; Hor. *Carm.* 3.4.52; Prop. 2.1.19–20; *Ciris* 32–3). By the Roman imperial period, this feat had become assimilated within the generalized narrative of gigantomachy: see Hardie 1986, 100.

[7] For the specific association of thundering with gigantomachy, see Innes 1979, 166–7.

[8] In literary terms, Valerius may have specifically had in mind the disavowal of gigantomachic intentions in Ovid's discussion of astronomy at Ov. *Fast.* 1.305–8, and Horace's ode to seafaring (*Carm.* 1.3) which explicitly equates sailing with gigantomachy (see Davis 1990, 62), as does Ovid at *Am.* 3.8.49–52.

both "literary" and ideological in nature. In order to clarify and support this assertion, it will be helpful briefly to consider the gigantomachic underpinnings of the two antithetical systems and examine more closely the mechanisms by which Valerius incorporates them into his text.

2. *Nautical* nefas

The invention of sailing is rarely a cause for celebration in the ancient poetic tradition: the wickedness and folly of navigation is a theme that dates back to Hesiod.[9] For the most part, Roman poets reproduce with a kind of grim enthusiasm the Hesiodic notion that sailing was a manifestation of moral degradation, a harbinger of the fall from the Golden Age.[10] The inauguration of navigation was seen as a hubristic enterprise, commensurate with the attempt of the Giants to storm the heavens. Hence, as the first ship, the Argo was often derided as an emblematic product of the technological abuse of nature. The construction of Argo was treated as a perversion of the rightful order of things, involving the uprooting of land-dwelling trees and their transformation into mobile vessels of the sea.[11] In the early imperial period Horace, Seneca and Lucan famously lament the violation of the sea, intended by divine providence to serve as a "partition" between lands and peoples.[12] In their treatment, the human incursion upon the forbidden realm of Ocean is repeatedly equated with the Giants' assault upon heaven. The primitivist treatment of sailing, then, can be said to

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9 Hes. *Op.* 236–7.

10 E.g. Catul. 64; Tib. 1.3.35–50; Hor. *Carm.* 1.3; Ov. *Met.* 1.89–96; Sen. *Med.* 301–79. At *Ecl.* 4.31–2 Virgil associates sailing with the *prisca fraus* of Prometheus, and articulates a desire to return to the blissful age that existed prior to the sailing of Argo. On the institution of navigation as "the vital rupture between the Golden and Iron Ages", see Feeney 1991, 330–1 with further bibliography.

11 Verg. *Ecl.* 4.38 uses the paradox of a "nautical pine tree" (*nautica pinus*) to convey the warping of nature entailed by navigation; Catul. 64.1–2 speaks more playfully of trees "swimming" (*pinus ... dicuntur nasse per undas*); cf. Ov. *Met.* 1.94–5. Such quasi-structuralist oppositions between the trees (vertical, solid and immobile land dwellers) and the ship that was made from them (horizontal, hollow and mobile on water) can be traced back to Euripides' *Medea*: see Desbordes 1979, 47. In his own *Medea*, Ennius (fr. 103, 208–11 Jocelyn) offers the image of a felled tree as the beginning of a catastrophe.

12 Hor. *Carm.* 1.3.21–4; Sen. *Med.* 335–9; Luc. 3.193–6. Davis 1990, 51–60 well discusses the importance of these authors as literary precursors to Valerius.

constitute a comparatively stable and generically omnivorous discourse within the Roman poetic tradition, and Valerius articulates a number of its basic tenets. In particular, the Argonauts' voyage is associated with the end of the Saturnian Golden Age (1.500) along with a number of traditional lapsarian symptoms, including the introduction of *commercium* (1.246–7), the necessity of human labor (1.500), and increased human mortality (1.501–2, 647–50).[13]

While a variety of divine figures express outrage at the sailing of Argo, it is the wind god Boreas who emerges as the primary spokesperson for opponents of navigation. The storm narrative proper begins with Boreas espying the vessel en route to Colchis, and promptly speeding to the Cave of Aeolus, to report the shocking development:

> "Pangaea quod ab arce nefas," ait, "Aeole, uidi!
> Graia nouam ferro molem commenta iuuentus
> pergit et ingenti gaudens domat aequora uelo."
>
> (V. Fl. 1.598–600)

> "What an abomination I have seen from the Pangaean summit, Aeolus!" he said. "A Greek band has constructed a strange object with their axes and now joyfully conquers the sea with a great sail."

Boreas' language is unambiguous: the sailing of Argo is characterized as a transgressive act, contrary to divine law—a *nefas*.[14] The outraged wind deity accordingly demands from Aeolus the freedom to destroy the vessel with a murderous sea-storm, and his request is granted forthwith. This exchange reworks Juno's interview with Aeolus at *A.* 1.64–80,[15] but the switch of divine petitioners is a significant alteration. In the earlier epic the winds are released when Juno induces Aeolus to raise a gale by offering him a sexual bribe. Here the situation is polarized and invested with a more overt ideological charge by the exclusion of any such machinations.[16] Boreas himself takes the initia-

[13] On 1.501–2, where the Parcae exult in the new forms of death resulting from sea navigation, see Burck 1979, 232; Feeney 1991, 330. The idea of the invention of sailing creating new forms of death for mankind, already attested at Hes. *Op.* 90–2, is a commonplace from the Augustan poetry onwards—e.g. Hor. *Carm.* 1.3.32–3, Prop. 3.7.31; Ov. *Fast.* 5.389; Sen. *Med.* 338–9. See further Costa 1973, 103.

[14] The opposite sentiment is expressed at 4.693, where the damage done to the Argo by the Clashing Rocks is characterized *ex persona poetae* as *nefas*.

[15] Burck 1978, 11.

[16] Feeney 1982, 407 deems it "most un-Virgilian" for a minor deity like Boreas to play so important a role in initiating narrative action. There is, nonetheless, a certain

tive in seeking the eradication of Argo, and his motivation is expressly divorced from personal entanglements or considerations:

> "… da mergere Graios
> insanamque ratem! nil me mea pignora tangunt.
> tantum hominum compesce minas dum litora iuxta
> Thessala necdum aliae uiderunt carbasa terrae."
>
> (V. Fl. 1.604–7)

> "Let me immerse the Greeks and their insane vessel! The thought of my own children [*scil.* the Argonauts Zetes and Calais] does not touch me. Only curb this threat from mankind while it is still near the Thessalian coast, and while no other lands have seen its sails."

The deadly storm constitutes for Boreas an appropriate act of violence, a necessary suppression of the human invasion of the sea-realm. His "rhetoric of inundation" is firmly grounded upon the ethical tenets of primitivism. The sailing of Argo is characterized in gigantomachic terms: it is a threat to the sea-divinities (*minas*), and a lunatic undertaking (*insanam*). Here *insanam* connotes not merely madness, but the kind of excessive ambition that characterizes the most flagrant hubristic schemes.

3. *Titanic tempest*

Having established the textual presence of a conventional primitivist discourse and its associated gigantomachic imagery, it remains to establish the flip side of the coin: namely that a countervailing allegorical system is simultaneously operative in the passage. In order to demonstrate this point, it will be helpful briefly to consider the intertextual underpinnings of the episode.

That Valerius, writing in the Flavian period on a nautical topic, should include a sea storm early in the narrative (1.574–642), and that this episode should exhibit a marked intertextual dependence on its predecessor at *A.* 1.50–156 is unremarkable in itself.[17] Virgil's cele-

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aptness to casting in the role of divine instigator a god of the crucial element—wind—harnessed by sea navigation (note Boreas' emphatic reference to *ingenti … uelo*).

[17] For Valerius' self-conscious play with the "inevitability" of his storm scene, see Zissos 2002, 78, n. 35. Surprisingly little is made of sea-storms in versions of the legend prior to Valerius. Herodotus (4.179) mentions a storm that blows the Argonauts far off course during a preliminary trip to consult the Delphic oracle. Apollonius Rhodius offers only a cursory airing of the theme towards the end of his epic (4.1232–

brated storm-at-sea quickly achieved a paradigmatic status, becoming both an exemplar for and a challenge to subsequent epic poets.[18] The profound indebtedness of the Valerian passage to its Augustan precursor is well-known and does not need a detailed airing here.[19] In addition to the obvious correspondence in narrative position, Valerius, like Virgil, uses this episode to mark an initial stage of despondency and helplessness from which the heroes must advance in order to accomplish their mission.[20] Even more significant are the many duplicated elements within the episode itself. Valerius meticulously replicates Virgil's overall narrative design, including: i) an elaborate ecphrastic description of the island of Aeolus and the subterranean cavern of the Winds; ii) a prehistory describing the violent winds, their providential incarceration by Jupiter and the appointment of Aeolus as jail keeper; iii) an appeal by a hostile deity to Aeolus to unleash the winds; iv) the storm itself and its chaotic and devastating effects; v) the helplessness and despair of the protagonists; and vi) the final pacification of the storm by Neptune, appearing as a kind of *deus ex machina*.[21] The originality of Valerius' treatment is evidently not to be found in the constituent elements of his episode. It resides, rather, in his ironic recontextualization of this quintessentially Virgilian material, which enables him to exploit the allegorical level of his model to very different ends.

Philip Hardie has well demonstrated the pervasive gigantomachic imagery used to characterize the winds in the *Aeneid* storm passage.[22] Virgil had taken as his model Homer's description of the floating is-

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50). Diodorus Siculus (4.43) describes at somewhat greater length a tempest encountered by the Argonauts after leaving the Troad.

18 Virgil's storm-at-sea was much imitated by his epic successors—e.g. Ov. *Met.* 11.474–569; Luc. 5.504–96; Stat. *Theb.* 5.363–411. On epic sea-storms generally see Morford 1967, 20–36; Burck 1978.

19 For the "Virgilian" placement and overall structure of Valerius' storm scene, see, e.g., Burck 1978, 9–14. While Valerius' treatment is pervasively indebted to the *Aeneid*, it should be noted that the episode also draws a measure of inspiration from D.S. 4.43 (note 17), and probably, as Shelton 1974, 14 suggests, owes something as well to Hom. *Od.* 5.282–450.

20 Shelton 1974, 22.

21 Given the manifest reminiscences on the level of both structure and content, it is baffling that in his otherwise insightful analysis of the storm scene, Shelton 1974, 19–20 concludes that Valerius "is not particularly indebted to … Virgil" and that "no significant feature of his storm scene is taken from … the *Aeneid*".

22 Hardie 1986, 90–7.

land of Aeolus at *Od.* 10.1–12, but had recast the scene entirely. The principal innovation was to have the winds imprisoned by Jupiter in a vast underground cavern, in the manner of the Hesiodic Titans. Jupiter incarcerates the winds because, like the Hesiodic Titans, they constitute a threat to the stable divisions of the universe.[23] In the *Argonautica*, Valerius mobilizes the same network of gigantomachic allusions and metaphors found in the model passage. Most strikingly, he follows Virgil in providing, as a prelude to the storm scene proper, a prehistory that accounts for Jupiter's subterranean confinement of the winds. If left unchecked, the poet notes, the violence of the winds would destroy the orderly partitions of the cosmos, causing a partial reversion to the original state of undifferentiated chaos from which it had emerged:

> … hinc in terras latumque profundum
> est iter, hinc olim soliti miscere polumque
> infelixque fretum (neque enim tunc Aeolus illis
> rector erat …)
>
> (V. Fl. 1.585–8)

> From [their caverns] the winds journey to the lands and to the broad ocean, from here *they were once accustomed to mix up the sky and the wretched sea* (for at that time Aeolus was not their king …)

As in the *Aeneid*, it is precisely because of their capacity for destabilizing violence on a cosmic scale that the winds are incarcerated and consigned to the supervision of Aeolus.[24] The containment of the winds is thus presented as a cosmic necessity, and, following Virgilian precedent (cf. *A.* 1.60–1), Valerius stresses the providence of Jupiter in arranging their imprisonment:[25]

> intonuit donec pauidis ex aethere uentis
> Omnipotens regemque dedit, quem iussa uereri

[23] Hes. *Th.* 729–35; likewise in the *Metamorphoses* Ovid treats the containment of the winds as a cosmic necessity and attributes this important deed to the divine *mundi fabricator* (*Met.* 1.57–8).

[24] As Burck 1978, 11 points out, Valerius describes a more tenuous containment of the fierce winds than Virgil had. In comparison with *A.* 1.63–4, where Aeolus restrains and liberates the winds "according to a fixed covenant" (*foedere certo*), the lack of control at 1.594–5 (*cum iam cohibere frementum / ora nequit, rex tunc aditus et claustra refringit*) is striking.

[25] For the providence of Jupiter in the *Aeneid* passage, see Hardie 1986, 92.

saeua cohors; uix monte chalybs iterataque muris
saxa domant Euros.

(V. Fl. 1.591–4)

The all-powerful god thundered from the heavens and gave the trembling winds a king, whom the savage band is compelled to respect; scarcely do the iron and twofold wall of rocks contain the east winds within the mountain.

This description of Aeolus and the Cave of the Winds is clearly indebted to *A*. 1.50–63, with respect to both content and language. There is a clear intertextual "citation" of the model passage at line 592: *regemque dedit* echoes, with retention of metrical *sedes*, *A*. 1.62, where Virgil is likewise describing Jupiter's appointment of Aeolus as jailmaster of the winds. The thunderous demonstration by Jupiter (*intonuit*, 1.591) as he imposes the rule of order over the trembling winds strengthens the gigantomachic affiliations of the passage.[26] In another nod to the Virgilian model passage, the wind god Boreas laments his subterranean incarceration, and his diminished destructive capacity:

"nec mihi libertas imis freta tollere harenis
qualis eram nondum uinclis et carcere clausus.
hinc animi structaeque uiris fiducia puppis,
quod Borean sub rege uident."

(V. Fl. 1.601–4)

"Nor do I have the freedom to raise the waters from their sandy basin, which was mine before I was bound and imprisoned. It is because they see Boreas ruled by a king that men have taken courage and placed their faith in the vessel they have built."

Again Valerius provides an intertextual "citation" of the model passage: 1.602 *uinclis et carcere* repeats, with retention of metrical *sedes*, *A*. 1.54, where Virgil is likewise describing the imprisonment of the winds in the Cave of Aeolus.

When considered in the light of this carefully signaled Virgilian framework, Boreas' "rhetoric of inundation" starts to register dissonance. That is to say, the wind god—who, as discussed in the previous section, strives to portray the invention of sailing as a gigantomachic act—is himself characterized via systematic Virgilian allusion as the

[26] The gigantomachic undertones are further strengthened by the emphatically positioned term *Omnipotens*, a lexical rarity in Valerius, which is often used by epic poets in passages featuring Jupiter putting down challenges to his dominion—e.g. Lucr. 5.399 (Phaethon); Verg. *A*. 1.60 (the Winds); Ov. *Met*. 1.154 (the Giants).

gigantomachic culprit *par excellence*. Boreas' regret that he is no longer free to reap destruction on the natural world underscores the inherent contradictoriness of his stance. Calculated irony arises from the fact that his proposed defense of terrestrial boundaries from human violation would involve a far graver dissolution of cosmic boundaries, a confusion of earth and heaven. Hence the wind god necessarily fails to assume a morally coherent stance in advocating eradication of the Argonauts. No less suggestive is the indiscriminate scope of his violence: in his eagerness to eliminate navigation, Boreas is willing to murder his own children, Zetes and Calais, who are among the Argo's crew (1.604–7, quoted earlier). The irony here, of course, is that such drastic familial violence would again amount to a violation of one kind of natural law in defense of another.[27]

In more abstract terms, gigantomachy has emerged as a shared code, a privileged interpretive paradigm operating on both sides of the ideological divide. The collision of the two ideologies takes place in the figure of Boreas himself, whose ethical posture is undercut by the persistently Titanic characterization he has received in the preceding narrative. In effect, the Virgilian storm scene to which Valerius' passage is systematically indebted serves as a kind of ideological and intertextual foil to the primitivist line of argument that Boreas espouses. By making the wind god the principal spokesman for the negative perspective Valerius has ingeniously—if perhaps not altogether fairly—turned the conventional moralizing discourse on sailing against its own authority.

In literary-historical terms, the opportunity to create this particular semiotic collision—that is, to combine sailing-as-gigantomachy and storm-as-gigantomachy—could exist only for the composition of a post-Virgilian *Argonautica*. Valerius recognizes and exploits this possibility not just as a sophisticated intertextual ploy, but as a gesture of recursive symbolism that drives the content of its models into reflexivity as it probes the central ethical issue of the early narrative. In this complex intertextual engagement we see the "naïve" metaphorical narratives of earlier poets—Virgil on the one hand and the primitivists on the other—being merged and unraveled by the ironic and self-conscious account of Valerius. The use of Boreas as ideological

[27] Boreas' eagerness to slay his own children is perhaps meant to call to mind the Titan Chronos/Saturn in his infanticidal Hesiodic guise.

spokesperson exasperates the system of ethical judgments that are inevitably invoked by his primitivist discourse. At the same time, the insistent association of the Argo's voyage with lapsarian symptoms undercuts a properly progressivist conception of events.[28] In short, it is difficult for the reader to draw clear conclusions from this textual sequence, because neither ideological position is protected from irony.

4. *Continental drift*

Given the poem's repeated recourse to a primitivist "symptomology", it is perhaps worth examining a second strategy used to neutralize the conception of sailing as gigantomachy, this one informed by contemporary theories of natural history. According to ancient cosmogonies, the original state of the universe was one of undifferentiated chaos.[29] This was succeeded by an orderly separation of natural elements by a cosmic intelligence. Primitivist discourses posit a primordial separation of land masses (and hence peoples) as an order-imposing principle scarcely less crucial than the separation of natural elements themselves. From this perspective, the invention of sailing amounted to a profane disruption of this orderly division of the world, a reversion to a state of geographic disorder.[30] In his famous propempticon, Horace well captures this notion of sailing as a dissolution of natural divisions:

> nequiquam deus abscidit
>   prudens oceano dissociabili
> terras, si tamen inpiae
>   non tangenda rates transiliunt uada.
>
> (Hor. *Carm.* 1.3.21–4)

> To no avail did the wise deity separate the lands with the partitioning ocean if impious ships nevertheless journey across waters that ought to be left untouched.

Central to Horace's primitivist argument is the notion that divine providence had placed the seas between land masses as an inviolable barrier (*non tangenda ... uada*). Moreover, the *Ode* concludes by list-

[28] For the ironic undercutting of optimistic discourses in the poem, see Zissos 2004a.
[29] See, e.g., Ov. *Met.* 1.5–7.
[30] Hardie 1986, 93–5.

ing sailing among those hubristic challenges to the cosmic order that provoke Jupiter's thunderbolts. Likewise, Seneca's chorus speaks of sancta foedera mundi ("the sacred universal covenants", *Med.* 605–6), the violation of which results in divine persecution of the Argonauts.[31] With a deft and subtle gesture, Valerius neutralizes this primitivist tenet by appealing to the "scientific" authority of contemporary theories of natural history. In a parenthesis at the heart of the Aeolus excursus, the poet introduces something close to the modern notion of "continental drift":[32]

> … neque enim tunc Aeolus illis
> rector erat, Libya cum rumperet aduena Calpen
> Oceanus, cum flens Siculos Oenotria fines
> perderet et mediis intrarent montibus undae …
>
> (V. Fl. 1.587–90)

> … for Aeolus was not then their king, at that time when intruding Ocean severed Calpe from Libya, when grieving Oenotria lost her Sicilian lands, and the waters flowed amidst the mountains …

The Romans believed, correctly, that land masses such as the promontories of the Straits of Gibraltar and Italy-Sicily had initially been contiguous, and were subsequently severed through natural processes.[33] With this parenthesis epic narrative is ingeniously brought into contact with such geological theories. Valerius is not the first Roman epicist to incorporate such "scientific" material, but his use of it in the present context is both original and compelling.[34] He partially remythologizes

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[31] Cf. the fragment of Albinovanus Pedo preserved by Seneca the Elder (*Suas.* 1.15.21–3): *aliena quid aequora remis / et sacras uiolamus aquas diuumque quietas / turbamus sedes?* Albinovanus' poem treats the navigation of the North Sea by Germanicus in essentially positive terms, though not without raising the ethical question, central to Valerius' poem, of whether humans should reach beyond the natural limits of their environment.

[32] At 2.616–20 the same "theory" is referred to in more overtly mythological terms: *has etiam terras consertaque gentibus arua / sic pelago pulsante, reor, Neptunia quondam / cuspis et aduersi longus labor abscidit aeui / ut Siculum Libycumque latus, stupuitque fragore / Ianus et occiduis regnator montibus Atlans*. Poortvliet *ad loc.* notes the similarity with Plin. *Nat.* 5.141.

[33] For the notion, cf. Verg. *A.* 3.414–9; Ov. *Met.* 15.290; Sen. *Nat.* 6.30; Luc. 2.435–6; Plin. *Nat.* 2.204, 6.1. Implicit in Valerius' treatment is a rejection of the relatively late tradition recorded by Diodorus (4.18.5; cf. Plin. *Nat.* 3.4; Mela 1.27) that it was Hercules himself who created the straits between the Mediterranean and Ocean by sundering the land masses of Europe and Africa.

[34] Virgil seems to be responsible for introducing this type of content into epic narrative; Valerius' passage owes a debt of inspiration to *A.* 3.414–9.

the scientific account in order to provide a prehistory that further undermines the traditional condemnation of Argo and its crew for dissolving boundaries and creating indiscriminate geographic interchange.[35] By positing a primordial state of terrestrial unity that was lost to a violent incursion of Ocean, Valerius provides an implicit counter-argument to the primitivist critique. The idea of an invasion of sea into land "trumps" or preempts the notion of sailing as an unnatural invasion of terrestrial elements into sea, implicitly justifying the institution of sailing as a reconnection of land masses that had been cruelly severed by Ocean. This is a subtle but powerful gesture, bolstered by the device of pathetic fallacy (*flens ... Oenotria*), that serves to maintain the ideological ambivalence of the passage.[36]

In fashioning his geological digression, Valerius appears to have drawn upon a passage in Pliny's *Natural History* (6.1–2 *non fuerat satis ... inrupisse fractis montibus Calpeque Africa auolsa ...*). Like Pliny, he describes Gibraltar being sundered from Africa when *mare* burst through to form the Mediterranean. Valerius also follows Pliny in using personification, as well as in stressing (with a form of *rumpere*) the violence of this liquid onslaught. Thus, in the midst of his narrative, the Flavian poet has fleetingly constellated Pliny's vision of a world divided into so many elemental kingdoms—earth, water, air—which can be at peace or at war. In the implication that navigation has been inaugurated to reconnect sundered land masses there is perhaps a trace of Pliny's conception of "an intrinsic solidarity between nature and culture".[37]

5. *Neptune's intervention*

The ideological ambivalence of Valerius' treatment is foregrounded once again in the climactic scene of the episode when, as in the *Aeneid*, the tempest is finally calmed through the intervention of Neptune (1.640–54). At the height of the chaotic elemental activity, with the Argonauts facing imminent death, the sea-god appears in the role of savior:

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[35] See Fyfe 1983, 77–93.

[36] Valerius has perhaps been influenced by the Stoic doctrine of cosmic sympathy of all parts of the world, from which it follows that the natural elements are endowed with self-consciousness. Cf. Cic. *Fin.* 3.16–8; D.L. 7.110, 116.

[37] Conte 1994, 190.

… undique feruent
aequora, cum subitus trifida Neptunus in hasta
caeruleum fundo caput extulit …

(V. Fl. 1.640–2)

The water was raging all around when suddenly Neptune, armed with his three-pronged spear, raised his dark-blue head from the depths …

With this familiar *deus ex machina*, Valerius concludes his storm scene on a resoundingly "Virgilian" note. Indeed, the repetition of the phrase *caput extulit*, used of the climactic emergence from the depths of Virgil's Neptune (*A.* 1.127), constitutes yet another intertextual "acknowledgement" of the model passage. But Valerius' presentation of Neptune diverges from Virgil's in one crucial respect. In the earlier epic the sea god is essentially indifferent to the plight of the Trojans and calms the storm because it constitutes a chaotic infringement of his authority. In the *Argonautica*, by contrast, he is openly hostile to the Argonauts, and a wholly reluctant savior. Because he construes the sailing of Argo as a transgression against his realm, Neptune's sympathies lie with the elemental forces that generated the storm.[38] Prevailed upon by Juno and Pallas, the sea god concedes the sailing of Argo, but refuses to approve of the voyage. The idea of deferred compensation in the form of human death is conspicuous in his speech:[39]

… "hanc mihi Pallas
et soror hanc," inquit, "mulcens mea pectora fletu
abstulerint; ueniant Phariae Tyriaeque carinae
permissumque putent. quotiens mox rapta uidebo
uela notis plenasque aliis clamoribus undas!
non meus Orion aut saeuus Pliade Taurus
mortis causa nouae; miseris tu gentibus, Argo,
fata paras nec iam merito tibi, Tiphy, quietum
ulla parens uolet Elysium manesque piorum."

(V. Fl. 1.642–50)

"Pallas and my sister, softening my breast with weeping, have taken this vessel from me," he said. "Let ships come from Pharos and Tyre, and think what they do is permitted. How often in the future shall I see sails suddenly snatched by the south winds, and the waves filled with other cries. Neither my Orion nor the Bull, savage with the Pleiad, shall

38 As Mopsus has foreseen in his prophecy at 1.211–7.

39 It was a poetic convention—and of course a bitter truth—that the first ship opened up new avenues to death. Cf. Phaedrus 4.7.8–9 *utinam … nec ad professae mortis audacem uiam / fabricasset Argus opere Palladio ratem.*

> be the cause of this new form of death. You, Argo, are devising ruin for wretched nations; and justly will no mother ever wish you, Tiphys, the peace of Elysium amid the shades of the pious."

Neptune's singling out of the helmsman Tiphys for disparagement as the inventor of an evil art is noteworthy. In the context of Valerius' narrative, the emphasis on Tiphys seems oddly disproportionate, as his part has been rather small, and all crucial decisions were out of his hands.[40] But the vitriol has a clear metaliterary and ideological force: Neptune's resort to the *pereat qui primus* topos is a marked gesture, which locates the sea-god's utterance within the conventions of the negative poetic discourse on sailing. In focusing his diatribe so intently, Neptune appears specifically to be echoing Seneca's *Medea*, whose moralizing critiques make the helmsman the primary target rather than Jason, as the leader of the expedition (*Med.* 318–28, 616–24).[41] As before, however, this appeal to the authority of Seneca *tragicus* is ironically undercut, leaving the reader hard pressed to draw clear moral conclusions.

Neptune's speech is structurally equivalent to the same figure's speech in *Aeneid* 1, but it is a more ominous statement. The god is appeased by the prospect of abundant human slaughter in the form of future shipwrecks.[42] His prophetic declaration that navigation will result in new forms of death affirms the primitivist notion, discussed earlier, that the post-lapsarian world saw an increase in human mortality. At the same time, the sea god's ethical stature is undermined by a

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[40] As Shelton 1974, 21 notes, Neptune's vilification of Tiphys is counteracted by the simile at 1.690–3, which compares Tiphys in his mastery of the elements to Jupiter himself. Cf. Erginus' words at 8.121–2 (*meminique, o Tiphy, tuorum / saxa per illa, pater, memini, uenerande, laborum*), which also reverse Neptune's negative characterization.

[41] For the condemnation of the inventor of navigation, cf. Verg. *Ecl.* 4.34; Hor. *Carm.* 1.3.9–12; Prop. 1.17.13–4 *a pereat, quicumque rates et uela parauit / primus et inuito gurgite fecit iter*; Ov. *Am.* 2.11.1–2 *prima malas docuit mirantibus aequoris undis / Peliaco pinus uertice caesa uias*; Sen. *Med.* 301–2 *audax nimium qui freta primus / rate tam fragili perfida rupit*. In the Senecan tragedy, as Costa 1973, 123–4 notes, the opposition between Neptune and Tiphys is expressed via their respective epithets: Tiphys, as *domitor profundi* (617), encroaches upon the realm of Neptune, the *dominus profundi* (597). For the *pereat qui primus* topos, see Heydenreich 1970, 42; cf. Barrett on E. *Hipp.* 407–9.

[42] An interesting reversal of the more generous terms offered by the god in *Aeneid* 5, where Neptune accepts the life of Palinurus alone in return for the safety of the rest of the Trojans: *"unus erit tantum, amissum quem gurgite quaeres; / unum pro multis dabitur caput"* (*A.* 5.814–5).

reversal of Virgilian imagery. In the *Aeneid*, Neptune is associated with positive political action through the well-known simile of the statesman calming an unruly crowd (*A*. 1.48–53): he is a champion of rationality and restraint, a divine supervisor of universal elements intervening on the side of order and civilization. The sea god rebukes the storm-winds for their impudent disruption of cosmic order (*A*. 1.133–4).[43] In the *Argonautica*, by contrast, Neptune is not linked symbolically to the political sphere, and is a far cry from the exemplary political figure found in *Aeneid* 1. The reversal of the Virgilian treatment is pointed: instead of stopping a storm created by Juno's scheming, Neptune is here convinced by Juno to calm a storm caused by his own proxies. In the *Aeneid*, it is the sea god who metaphorically "soothes the breasts" of the winds (*pectora mulcet*, *A*. 1.153), which have been aroused through the machinations of Juno. In Valerius the situation is inverted: it is Juno who soothes her incensed brother (*mulcens ... pectora*, 1.643). Since Neptune is not hostile to the intentions of the Titanic winds, but is only bought off with a guarantee of future slaughter, the god is, despite his role in quelling the storm, assimilated to the forces of furor and disorder. In the *Argonautica*, then, the emergence of Neptune as both savior and destroyer, as both pacifier and pacified, signals the incapacity of the primitivist figural system to resolve itself on its own terms.[44]

The progressivist side of the paradigm is equally unsustainable. The Argo must sail, of course, and the Argonauts will perform a number of important civilizing deeds en route to Colchis, culminating in the liberation of Prometheus by Hercules in Book 5. But, as Neptune's speech suggests, the primitivist teleology is deferred rather than exorcised from Valerius' text. If much of the narrative of the outward voyage features heroic striving and technological triumph, subsequent

[43] A good discussion in Hardie 1986, 296–7.

[44] Immediately following the storm episode, the poet provides another gesture that seems to signal the refusal of ideological resolution. Jason utters a prayer and offers a libation to Neptune, using a patera that, the poet notes, was given to his father by Salmoneus (1.659–65). Salmoneus, of course, committed precisely the kind of hubristic offense that has been charged against the Argonauts, and for this Jupiter struck him down with a real thunderbolt. This aside, in which Salmoneus is presented as both a pious observer of *hospitium*, a civilized practice overseen by Jupiter, and a mad challenger of Jovian dominion, neatly embodies the unresolved ideological tension, the mutually exclusive and yet inextricably intertwined constructions of the Argonautic venture that the text makes available. See further Feeney 1991, 333.

episodes will follow a more regressive pattern of tragic dénouement that brings into increasingly sharp focus the negative consequences of the Argo's voyage.[45]

6. *Conclusion*

Perhaps more than any other Roman epic, the Flavian *Argonautica* constitutes a synchronic unity of heterogeneous or contradictory discourses. In the case of the storm scene, the text angles away from a coherent ideological stance by exploiting the conceptual antinomies arising from the use of gigantomachy as a mobile metaphor in the context of sea navigation. Valerius' treatment cuts through the polarized and static positions of the progressivist-primitivist debate, leaving both ideologies neutralized and deflated in its wake. In so doing the episode signals not so much a dialectical transcendence of their figural systems and sedimented discourses as an aporetic repudiation of the historical master narratives that inform them. That is to say, this complex treatment amounts to an act of pure negation: Valerius does not offer a positive alternative to the ideological positions he has so ruthlessly undermined.

Such cancellation of final meaning is a recurring and characteristic element that speaks to an unresolved tension in Valerius' poetic and historical imagination. But the truth value of primitivism or progressivism may not be all that is at stake in this episode. In "deep-structural" terms it may be more to the point that primitivism and progressivism are theories of history that elucidate principles of historical causation. As such they enable a society or social group to locate itself in the present by defining a relationship to both a past and a future. Epic, or at least epic in the Virgilian manner, depends upon such conceptual frameworks to unite these three temporalities and link them to a transcendent human destiny. What we see in the *Argonautica*, then, is a breakdown or "deconstruction" of the kinds of historical master narratives that the genre traditionally processes.[46]

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45 Discussed in Zissos 2004b.

46 Jameson 1981 argues that such breakdowns of ideological coherence and historical narrativity are symptomatic of a culture, group or social class in crisis. The indeterminacy of the *Argonautica* in passages such as this can perhaps be added to a network of symptoms that, as argued in Zissos 2003, point to the possibility of just such a crisis in elite Flavian culture.

6. SILIUS ITALICUS AND THE ROMAN SUBLIME

Piet H. Schrijvers

The Roman Sublime

"Nature implanted into our souls an invincible love for all that is great and more divine than ourselves."[1] This observation is given in Longinus' *Peri Hupsous* (35.2) to explain our admiration for literary excellence. To illustrate his point of view the Greek author focuses on the impressive greatness of three natural phenomena, observing that mankind is "by nature led to marvel": not at little streams, but at great rivers like the Nile, the Danube or the Rhine, and still more at the Ocean; not at little fires, but at the fires of heaven and at the eruptions of the volcano Etna (35.4). According to the criteria of ancient learning the great natural phenomena mentioned here belong to the domain of astronomy (the celestial fires of sun, moon and stars) as well as meteorology, a discipline which, starting from the theory of the four elements (water, earth, air and fire), offered explanations for more capricious, sublunary phenomena including the waters on earth, earthquakes and vulcanic eruptions.[2]

In chapter 35 of *Peri Hupsous* literary criticism is connected with great natural phenomena, or to put it in different words, the rhetorical or literary sublime is associated with the natural sublime. In my view one should not, as some modern critics have done, characterize chapter 35 as "one passing remark" or "a hurried glance at natural scenery",[3] because in his preceding explanations the Greek author has prepared the connection under consideration in a systematical,[4] sophisticated and sometimes rather artificial way: the preceding chapters contain not only literary quotations referring to great objects of external nature, but also employ metaphors and similes derived from great

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1 English translations of Longinus have been taken from Grube 1957; I follow the usual naming of the author and a still common dating of *Peri Hupsous* in the time of the Roman emperor Tiberius (AD 14–37); see also n. 8 below.

2 Cf. Cic. *N.D.* 2.4; Sen. *Brev. Vit.* [*Dial.* 10.]19.1; *Nat.* 2.1.2.

3 Hope Nicolson 1963 (1959), 30; Monk 1960 (1935), 205.

4 See Innes 1995, 111–24.

natural phenomena to qualify writers and works of literature. So in *Peri Hupsous* the natural sublime is not only subject matter for the literary sublime, but also material for comparison. I first give a summary of this cosmic material:

1. Quotations from Homer in *Peri Hupsous* illustrating sublime writing:[5]
   - 8.2 battle of the Gods and Giants (Ossa on Pelion)
   - 9.5 cosmic distance between heaven and earth
   - 9.5 cosmic size of the wide sea
   - 9.6 cosmic dissolution
   - 9.8 earthquakes
   - 9.10 light-darkness
   - 9.11 fire in a mountain forest
   - 9.14 storm at sea

2. "Cosmic" similes and metaphors in *Peri Hupsous* applied to literary phenomena:
   - 1.4 effect of *hupsos* ~ thunderbolt (cf. 12.4 Demosthenes ~ lightning and thunderbolt)
   - 9.11 strength of Homer ~ force of the wind (cf. 20.3 Demosthenes ~ hurricane)
   - 9.13 Homer's *Iliad* and *Odyssey* ~ ocean, movement of tides; Homer ~ the setting sun
   - 12.2 literary amplification ~ the sea
   - 13.2 great literature as source of inspiration ~ Pythia, exhalation of *pneuma* from the earth
   - 32.1 use of metaphors ~ mountain torrent

For the most part the quotations in chapter 8–9 of *Peri Hupsous* refer to natural objects or phenomena which can be qualified as cosmic/cosmological (a term which includes the astronomical and meteorological phenomena mentioned above).

At the end of the 19th and the beginning of the 20th century the scholarly consensus—established mostly by German scholars—was that ancient thinkers and writers on nature from the first century BC onwards, including the author of *Peri Hupsous*, were strongly influenced (in a direct or indirect way) by the Stoic mastermind Posidonius (ca. 135–51 BC).[6] From 1918 onwards, when Dobson published his

[5] See also the famous quotation from *Genesis* on the creation of light in 9.9, Plato *R.* 586a–b on raising the eyes to the truly sublime (13.1) and Euripides' *Phaëthon* quoted in 15.4.

[6] Cf. Mutschmann 1913, 69; Rudberg 1917–9, 131–55; Kühn 1941; and generally Ferrario 1972, 839–40.

article entitled "The Posidonius Myth",[7] Anglo-Saxon scholars began to criticize and to reject this so-called Panposidonianism. One of the consequences of this dispute was that German authors of studies on *Peri Hupsous*, even though Posidonius lost his prominent position in their explanations, still paid attention to the natural and cosmic sublime in the Greek treatise, whereas in Anglo-Saxon studies, for instance in the influential commentary on *Peri Hupsous* published by D.A. Russell in 1964, the natural sublime received little or no attention at all. One might add that Russell, his colleague Doreen Innes and recently Malcolm Heath almost exclusively studied and analysed the position of Longinus in the rhetorical tradition.[8]

Another consequence of this fading of Posidonius is that Russell *cum suis* refer almost exclusively to Greek texts and traditions, whereas, for example, the German book on *Peri Hupsous* by the German scholar Winfried Bühler, published in the same year as Russell's commentary in 1964, and more recently the Italian commentary by Carlo Maria Mazzucchi (1992), although far from intending to revive the Panposidonianistic approach, do confront Longinus' treatise with Roman as well as Greek, natural-philosophical as well as literary writings from the first century BC and the first century AD.

To my mind the latter approach is the most rewarding, also for the study of Latin literature from this period in general. For it can be observed that, apart from some Greek prose treatises which just like *Peri Hupsous* show a vivid interest in cosmic phenomena (notably the ps.-Aristotelian *Peri Kosmou*), particularly Latin texts from the first century BC and the first century AD demonstrate a fascination with great natural phenomena comparable to the feelings of awe and wonder expressed by Longinus. In a similarly impassioned, powerful and elevated style the same cosmic themes are described in the didactic poetry written by Lucretius and Manilius, in the poem on Mt Etna and,

[7] Dobson 1918; this Anglo-Saxon tradition might be the cause that in his survey article on Posidonius Nock 1959 did not mention Longinus in spite of his conclusion that "Posidonius did perhaps communicate to others a sense for the wonders of nature" (15).

[8] See Innes 1995 and Heath 1999–2000; Heath's efforts to date *Peri Hupsous* in the third century BC are, in my opinion, unsuccessful, because, among other reasons, he completely ignores the natural-philosophical aspects of the treatise. The Roman context of *Peri Hupsous* received more attention from Russell's predecessor (the commentary by Rhys Roberts, 1899); see also Allen 1941.

more incidentally, in the epic poems of Virgil[9] and Lucan, in Ovid's *Metamorphoses*, in some choral odes of Seneca's tragedies and in natural-philosophical treatises written by Cicero (notably *De Natura Deorum*) and, again, Seneca (*Naturales Quaestiones*).

Five out of the nine references to Homer's "natural sublime" which occur in *Peri Hupsous* can also be found in Virgil's *Aeneid*.[10] These are purple passages which were compared with their Homeric models already by the ancient commentators on Virgil. Mazzucchi, the most recent commentator on *Peri Hupsous*, made the interesting suggestion (1992, 161) that in his selection of Homeric passages Longinus probably took into consideration the interests and preferences of Roman readers. In my opinion, three considerations make it extremely probable that Longinus also appealed to a *Roman* audience: i) the dedicatee, addressed in the beginning of *Peri Hupsous*, was presumably a Roman: Postumius (Florus) Terentianus;[11] ii) in chapter 12.4 Longinus compares the Greek orator Demosthenes with the Roman orator Cicero; iii) at the end of his treatise he makes a contribution to the dominantly Roman debate on the decline of rhetoric.[12]

The Roman fascination with great objects of external nature is apparent from literary descriptions as well as natural-philosophical explanations of cosmic phenomena. But there is more to it. Already two or three generations before Longinus metaphors and similes are found in Latin literature which transfer the qualities of the natural sublime to authors who wrote on that impressive subject. An example is Lucretius' praise of the poet and natural philosopher Empedocles, portrayed as an even greater miracle than all the natural wonders of Sicily including Mount Etna (1.716–33). One could also think of Horace, who describes the poetry of Pindar as a rushing mountain torrent (*Carm.* 4.2) and compares poetic inspiration with the ecstatic feelings of a maenad standing on the top of a mountain and looking out over the snow-covered slopes (*Carm.* 3.25).[13] As a final instance I mention

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9 Cf. Hardie 1986.

10 Compare *Peri Hupsous* 8.2, 9.5, 9.6, 9.14 and Verg. *A.* 6.582–4, 4.175–7, 8.243–6, 1.81–123.

11 Cp. the commentaries by Russell and Mazzucchi *ad* 1.1.

12 In his chapter on "contemporary analyses of decline" Williams 1978 mentions the two Senecas, Velleius Paterculus, Petronius, Plinius Maior, Tacitus and Longinus.

13 Horace was the first author we know of who used the word *sublimis* to qualify the "high-minded" youth (*Ars* 165, cf. Brink's commentary: "*sublimis* 'elated' often

Ovid's characterization of Lucretius as *sublimis* in a famous passage (*Am.* 1.15.23–4) which alludes to a cosmic topic (the destruction of the earth) and at the same time echoes the words of the Epicurean poet himself.[14]

Another instance of Roman transference of the natural sublime to another domain can be found in the well-known Epistle 41 of the Stoic philosopher Seneca. Here the effects on men of the moral greatness of the Stoic Sage are compared with the feelings of wonder and awe evoked by impressive natural phenomena such as an ancient forest and subterranean caves. Elsewhere in his philosophical works Seneca also presents the Stoic Sage as *sublimis* by describing him as a hero who surpasses the forceful elements of nature.[15]

To conclude this introductory part I will point out some instances of what might be called the historical/political sublime in the *Pharsalia*, the Latin epic on the Roman civil war by the Stoic poet Lucan. In the beginning of this poem the civil war and the decline of the Roman republic are depicted as a cosmic dissolution (1.72–80), and two of the three central characters, Caesar and Pompey, are compared with great natural phenomena: the first with a destructive thunderbolt (1.151–7), the latter with a mighty, but unstable oak (a tree qualified by Lucan as *sublimis*, 1.136).[16] Lucan also describes his historical protagonists as conquering the terrifying violence of Nature: Caesar as defeating the storms (Book 5),[17] Cato as triumphing over the desert (Book 9). In Lucan's epic the cosmic dimension of historical/political events is, just like the cosmic repercussions of human actions in Seneca's tragedies,[18] inspired by the Stoic concept of cosmic *sympatheia*.

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retains the metaphorical character of 'elevation, height'". See also Schrijvers (forthcoming).

[14] Cf. Ovid's lines *carmina* <u>*sublimis*</u> *tunc sunt peritura Lucreti / exitio terras cum dabit una dies* and Lucr. 5.95 *una dies dabit exitio*.

[15] Cf. Sen. *De Ira* [Dial. 3.]6.1 *pars superior mundi et ordinatior ac propinqua sideribus nec in nubem cogitur nec in tempestatem inpellitur nec uersatur in turbinem; omni tumultu caret, inferiora fulminantur; eodem modo* <u>*sublimis*</u> *animus, quietus semper et in statione tranquilla conlocatus*.

[16] Cf. Lapidge 1979, Rosner-Siegel 1983.

[17] For the literary and natural-philosophical background of Lucanus' descriptions of storms see Morford 1967.

[18] See Schmitz 1993.

Silius Italicus' Punica

This Roman fascination with the natural sublime was extensively expressed by the central figure in this paper: the epic poet Silius Italicus. With the help of a number of examples I hope to show that in a systematical, sometimes even mechanical and artificial way Silius tried to convey sublimity to his epic on the Second Punic War by connecting the historical subject matter with great cosmic phenomena.[19] First of all the natural sublime is expressed in the *Punica* by means of short metaphors, epic similes and elaborate descriptions of great natural phenomena in the different theatres of war.

As for the metaphorical expressions in the *Punica*, terms referring to meteorological phenomena like storms, clouds, rains and lightning are used by Silius rather frequently and in a varied way to denote aspects of war such as its violence, weapons or combatants. I give a quantitative survey of these meteorological metaphors in the *Punica*, based on Franke 1889:

> *turbo* 38, *nubes* 20, *procella* 13, *fulmen* 10, *nimbus* 7, *tempestas* 6, *fluctus* 4, *torrens* 2, *grando* 2, *unda*, *fretum*, *flumen*, *tonitrus* 1.
>
> Some examples: 14.297 *telorum turbine uasto*, 6.589–90 *cladis acerbae nube*, 11.91 *belli procella*, 8.222 *belli fulmina*, 9.311–2 *nimbus telorum* 15.39 *armisonae procellae*, 4.159 *undae Boiorum*, 13.181 *saxeus imber*, 9.578–9 *grando saxorum*, 13.10 *armorum tonitru*, etc.

Of course none of these metaphors in Silius' epic is truly original. Incidental parallels for his metaphorical usage can be found in the epic tradition before him (e.g. in Homer, Virgil—esp. *A*. 12—, Lucan), but the comparative frequency and systematic variation of these meteorological expressions in the *Punica* are remarkable, giving the relevant lines a somewhat formulaic character.

As for the epic similes derived by Silius from the natural sublime, I present a quantitative survey of Silius' and Lucan's comparisons, based on Bussenius 1872, Barchfeld 1880, Hundt 1886 and von Albrecht 1963:

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[19] Before Silius Lucretius had already amplified the subject of the Punic war in a cosmic way: 3.833–7.

	Silius	Lucan
number of lines	12216	8060
number of similes	102	52
similes taken from sublime nature	55	26
stars	7	4
meteorologica	7	6
sea/water	15	8
winds	18	2
fire	4	2
mountains/rocks	2	2
marsh	-	1
Giants(Titans)	2	1

More detailed and more extensive study of Silius' epic similes within the ancient epic tradition needs to be done, but this modest numerical survey in any case allows the conclusion that in the use of sublime cosmic comparisons Silius even surpasses Lucan.

Michael von Albrecht's monograph on Silius Italicus (1964) established that in the first book of the *Punica* themes and narrative motifs are introduced which subsequently emerge as *Leitmotive* and culminate in monumental sublime scenes within the epic. For instance, the brief description of Hannibal "riding his horse through the lightnings hurled by Jupiter" (1.252–5) turns out to be a prefiguration of the sublime scene in Book 12 (610–26) where Jupiter defends Rome against Hannibal and his "titanismo"[20] with the help of the whole arsenal of meteorological means (storms, clouds, hail, lightnings, thunder, rains).[21] The 1984 Heidelberg dissertation by Walter Schubert on Jupiter in the Flavian epics has shown that Juppiter Tonans hardly plays a role in Valerius Flaccus' *Argonautica*, whereas in the *Punica* his thunderbolts do form an important motif.[22] When in the first book of Statius' *Thebaid* (216) Jupiter speaks the words *taedet saeuire corusco fulmine* ("I am weary of venting my anger with the flashing thunderbolt"), the formulation of this weariness has a religious-ethical intent, but it might also be read as an indirect, poetical statement, aimed at the thunderings of Statius' epic colleague and competitor Silius Italicus. In any case, the land storm around Rome in Book 12 of

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[20] See Fucecchi 1990.

[21] Cf. Brouwers 1986, 21: "Si, chez Lucain, le rôle des dieux est limité ou inexistant dans ce genre de passages [descriptions of storms], chez Silius les tempêtes sont réprésentées comme un instrument par excellence dans les mains des dieux pour influencer décisivement le cours de l'action."

[22] Schubert 1984, 174, 185.

the *Punica* is not the only "episches Unwetter" in Silius' poem; when the reader/listener reaches it, he has already had to endure a sand storm near Cannae in Book 10, and a sea storm is still awaiting him in the last book (17).[23]

A similar thematic valorization of the motif "streams and rivers" has been identified in the *Punica* by Carlo Santini in his study "The River in the *Punica*: Styleme or Symbol?"[24] In the prologue of the first book (from 45 onwards) Silius already mentions the ominous names of the rivers Ticinus, Trebia, Aufidus (near Cannae) and of Lake Thrasymene, streams and waters which will be filled by corpses of defeated soldiers. This list of rivers connected with Roman defeats returns frequently as a *Leitmotiv* in the epic and culminates in the sublime Homeric scene (130 lines) of the μάχη παραποτάμιος on the banks of the Trebia (4.573–703), including a battle between the river and fire.[25]

In the same way the motif of Hannibal's crossing of the Alps, mentioned for the first time in Book 1 (65) and returning in almost every book of the *Punica* (especially as an argument in speeches), culminates in Book 3, the narration of the actual crossing. Silius' elaborate description of the Alps (3.477–99) is an interesting moment in the history of aesthetic reactions upon first seeing the Alps, an outstanding example of the natural sublime. Such reactions have been discussed by the historian of art Marjorie Hope Nicolson in her well-known book *Mountain Gloom and Mountain Glory: The Development of the Aesthetics of the Infinite* (1959). Doubtlessly Nicolson was right when she stated (39) that "the Latin attitude towards mountains, at least among classical writers, remained almost consistently adverse" (with the exception of Lucretius, as she herself admits). But unfortunately she did not take account of Silius' description in *Punica* Book 3 (nor of Petronius "*Bellum Ciuile*" 144–51, which influenced it). In the Latin text below I have italicized not only the words denoting an infinite time span and evoking a "metaphysical pathos", but also those features of the natural sublime (in this case the Alps) which Silius' description has in common with Longinus' examples of the natural

23 For more details see Burck 1978.
24 Chapter 2 in Santini 1991 (1983).
25 For a more detailed analysis of this imitation of Homer see Juhnke 1972.

and literary sublime. These are, in the order in which they occur in Silius' text:
i) cosmic distance;
ii) tripartite division of the cosmos: the realm of the gods, the humans and the dead;
iii) a reference to "all winds and storms", a typical feature of "episches Unwetter";
iv) the phrase "lost in the clouds" (cf. Homer's description of Eris, mentioned by Longinus and followed by Virgil in his picture of Fama, *A.* 4.177 *caput inter nubila condit*);
v) Mount Pelion piled upon Mount Ossa.[26]

> Sed iam praeteritos ultra meminisse labores
> conspectae propius dempsere pauentibus Alpes.
> cuncta gelu canaque *aeternum* grandine tecta
> atque *aeui* glaciem cohibent; riget ardua montis
> *aetherii* facies, surgentique obuia Phoebo
> duratas nescit flammis mollire pruinas.
> *quantum Tartareus* regni pallentis hiatus
> ad manes imos atque atrae stagna paludis
> *a supera tellure* patet, tam longa per auras
> erigitur *tellus* et *caelum* intercipit umbra.
> nullum uer usquam nullique aestatis honores.
> sola iugis habitat diris sedesque tuetur
> *perpetuas* deformis hiems; illa undique nubes
> huc atras agit et mixtos cum grandine nimbos.
> iam *cuncti flatus uentique* furentia regna
> Alpina posuere domo. caligat in altis
> obtutus saxis abeuntque *in nubila* montes.
> mixtus Athos Tauro Rhodopeque adiuncta Mimanti
> Ossaque cum Pelio cumque Haemo cesserit Othrys.[27]
> primus inexpertas adiit Tirynthius arces.
> scindentem nubes frangentemque ardua montis
> spectarunt superi l*ongisque ab origine saeclis*
> intemerata gradu magna ui saxa domantem.

(Sil. 3.477–99)

But now all memory of past hardships was dispelled by terror, when they saw the Alps close at hand. All that region is covered with rime and hail that never thaws, and imprisons the ice of ages; the steep face

[26] For more stylistic and geographic details of this description I refer to the commentary by Spaltenstein and especially to Bona 1998, 104–7.
[27] The list of mountains was borrowed by Silius from Ovid's story about Phaethon (*Met.* 2.217–26).

> of the lofty mountains rises stiffly up, and, though it faces the rising sun, can never melt its hardened crust in his rays. Deep as the chasm that divides the upper world from the pale kingdom of Tartarus, and descends to the dead below and the pools of the black marsh, so high does the earth here rise towards heaven and shut out the sky by its shadow. There is no spring anywhere and no beauty of summer; unsightly winter alone inhabits the gruesome heights and dwells for ever there; from every quarter winter drives hither black clouds and rain mixed with hail. All winds and storms, moreover, have set up their furious dominion in the Alps. The gaze turns giddy on the high cliffs, and the mountains are lost in the clouds. Athos added to Mount Taurus, Rhodope united to Mimas, Pelion piled on Ossa and Othrys on Mount Haemus—all these must bow before the Alps. Hercules was the first to set foot on these virgin fortresses; he was a sight for the gods as he cleft the clouds, mastered the steep ascent, and with main force tamed the rocks that no foot had ever trodden during the long ages that followed their birth. (tr. Duff 1934)

In Silius' description one can detect a twofold focalisation: Hannibal's soldiers who saw the Alps with terror (478) and the gods who looked upon Hercules, the Stoic hero, crossing the Alps (498; obviously the gods—just like the readers/listeners who shared and share Silius' Stoic sympathies[28]—appreciated the spectacle). I may refer here to the remarks by Seneca in his *De Prouidentia* (2.7–9) on Jupiter's feelings of delight at the sight of calamities heroically endured, and to Longinus' observation (35.2) on "man as a spectator of the universe".[29]

The last example of the natural sublime in the *Punica* that I will discuss in some detail is Silius' description of the changing movements of ebb and flood in the context of Hannibal's visit to Gades in Spain, where he marvels at the tides of the Atlantic:

> Postquam oculos uaria impleuit uirtutis imago,
> mira dehinc cernit: surgentis mole profundi
> iniectum terris subitum mare nullaque circa
> litora et infuso stagnantes aequore campos.
> nam qua caeruleis Nereus euoluitur antris
> atque imo freta contorquet Neptunia fundo,
> proruptum exundat pelagus, caecosque relaxans
> Oceanus fontes torrentibus ingruit undis.
> tum uada, ceu saeuo penitus permota tridenti,

28 See Billerbeck 1986, 3134.

29 For Longinus' Stoic sympathies see Otto 1906, 41–54, and for the ethical and aesthetic aspects of the basic concept of "man as a spectator", see e.g. Blumenberg 1979; Schrijvers 1986; Leigh 1997.

luctantur terris tumefactum imponere pontum.
mox remeat gurges tractoque relabitur aestu,
ac ratis erepto campis deserta profundo,
et fusi transtris expectant aequora nautae.
Cymothoës ea regna uagae pelagique labores
Luna mouet, Luna, inmissis per caerula bigis,
fertque refertque fretum, sequiturque reciproca Tethys.

(Sil. 3.45–60)

When Hannibal's eyes were sated with the picture of all that valour[30] he saw next a marvellous sight—the sea suddenly flung upon the land with the mass of the rising deep, and no encircling shores, and the fields inundated by the invading waters. For, where Nereus rolls forth from his blue caverns and churns up the waters of Neptune from the bottom, the sea rushes forward in flood, and Ocean, opening his hidden springs, rushes on with furious waves. Then the water, as if stirred to the depths by the fierce trident, strives to cover the land with the swollen sea. But soon the water turns and glides back with ebbing tide; and then the ships, robbed of the sea, are stranded, and the sailors, lying on their benches, await the waters' return. It is the Moon that stirs this realm of wandering Cymothoe and troubles the deep; the Moon, driving her chariot through the sky, draws the sea this way and that, and Tethys follows with ebb and flow. (tr. Duff 1934)

The movement of the tides was already employed by Longinus (9.13) in a comparison illustrating the *Odyssey*'s coming after the *Iliad*.[31] This comparison was probably inspired by Posidonius, whose observations of the tides near Gades had quickly become famous in the ancient world, and who had discussed the question of Homer's knowledge of the tides.[32] Also Lucan (1.409–19) and Manilius (2.89–91) mentioned the subject in their poems, but Silius' description is the most elaborate (15 lines) and combines mythological features (Neptune's trident, the chariot of the Moon) with a scientific explanation which stems—directly or indirectly—from Posidonius.[33] The ships suddenly stranded might remind a learned reader of the journey of Alexander the Great to the East, where for the first time his fleet

[30] Represented on the walls of the temple (the scene is an imitation of Aeneas' visit to Carthage in *Aeneid* 1).

[31] Longinus regularly applies a descriptive theme in Homer to the poem himself (cf. Bühler 1964, 21–2, 37–8, 42).

[32] Cf. Strab. 1.1.7 (Posidon. fr. 216 Kidd-Edelstein, F 1 Theiler); *Doxographi Graeci*, Aëtius 3.17; Capelle 1940, 213; Schrijvers (to appear).

[33] Forstner 1918, 84 mentions Posidonius also as a direct source for Silius' ethnographical details on the Gauls in Books 4 and 5 of the *Punica*.

(commanded by Nearchus) observed the tides of the ocean and ships suddenly stranded. The allusion to the Alexander tradition would emphasize the cosmic dimension of Silius' description: the same phenomenon occurring at the eastern and at the western edge of the world![34]

In Book 16 of the *Punica*, when after the battle near the river Metaurus (207 BC) the course of the Punic war has completely changed in favour of the Romans, the Numidian king Syphax receives the two generals, Hasdrubal and Scipio, in his palace. The king tries to win over both parties to an armistice by emphasizing "what a storm of furious warfare rages through Italy and threatens Rome with destruction; and how, for twice five years, first the cruel soil of Sicily and then the coasts of Spain have drunk Punic blood. Why should not the horrors of war cease at last?" (16.213–21). Syphax begins his speech with the following anecdote, adressed to Scipio (16.191–7): "I recall with pleasure the face of Scipio, your father; you remind me of him. For I remember that, when I visited Gades, the city of Hercules, …, attracted by the Ocean and desirous to observe its tides, I was strangely moved when I beheld the great Roman generals, encamped hard by on the river Baetis."[35] In his commentary Spaltenstein duly remarks that the anecdote of Syphax looking at the tides near Gades is not attested in our historical sources: "Silius lui prête une curiosité de touriste presque amusante dans ce contexte et qui rappelle celle d'Annibal aux vers 3.45". The unmistakable echo of Hannibal's visit in Book 3 of the *Punica* conveys in my opinion a symbolic meaning to both passages in Silius. For, precisely in Book 16, that is after the Roman victory near the Metaurus, Silius emphasizes more than once that the course of the war has been changed: "this foaming billow, rising in mid-ocean, which will dash itself against the cities of Italy" (1.646–7) has turned into a storm coming to Africa (*tanta in semet ueniente procella / Africa* …, 17.59). Later on in Book 16 (684–5) Silius formulates this in an aphoristic way: "Let Carthage, feared so long, at last feel fear in her turn" (*timeat tandem Carthago, timeri assueta*). To my mind the elaborate description of flood followed by ebb in Book 3 symbolizes the changing tides of the Punic war and may be

[34] See Arr. *An.* 6.19 (= Nearchus *FGrH* 133 F 33); for other possible allusions to the Alexander tradition in Silius see Borszák 1982.

[35] In these opening words by Syphax Silius imitates Virgil, *A.* 8.152–63, where king Euander recognizes in Aeneas the voice and face of his father Anchises.

considered as a symbolic prefiguration of its course and final outcome. One finds a similar prefiguration of the final defeat of the Carthaginians in Book 15 (237–45). Silius describes in this book an important turning point of the war: the capture of Carthago Nova in Spain by Scipio. Thanks to the natural location of this town near the seashore its walls were protected by the flood, but when the tide turned and the water of the lagoon flowed back (*reuolubilis unda*), Scipio approached the town from the seaside and conquered it.

Appendix

To conclude, I present a list of ten further examples of Silius amplifying his historical subject by connecting it with a sublime cosmic, natural phenomenon:
1. (3.183–213) Dream of Hannibal: he flies through the air on his way to Italy and is followed by a serpent "huge as the Serpent which moves with its coils round the Great and Little Bear …, so huge it parts its jaws with cavernous yawn and raises its crest to the height of rain-swept mountains …". (One reads another "change of tide" in Book 15 (139–45), where a favourable prodigy presents itself to Scipio: a serpent flying through the air this time to the west.)
2. (5.609–26) Hannibal fighting against Flaminius; during the battle an earthquake (attested by Livy) occurs. Silius gives an elaborate description of this event.
3–4 (7.120–2) Hannibal is compared to Achilles *clipeo amplexus terramque polumque / maternumque fretum totumque in imagine mundum* ("the shield on which the whole world was depicted—earth and sky and his mother's sea"). This Stoic-Hellenistic vision of Achilles' shield as "cosmic icon" and of Homer as a cosmologist[36] was shared by Posidonius, Strabo, Longinus and Silius Italicus. In his Nekuia Silius describes the apparition of Homer (13.788): *carmine complexus terram, mare, sidera, manes* ("in his poetry embracing earth and sea, the sky and the nether world").
5. (7.351–66) Hannibal fixes dry branches to the horns of the cattle, lightens them and sets the animals free; the fire runs from place to place "like the multitude of stars … like the multitude of fires that the shepherd sees from the top of Mount Garganus". Reaction of the Ro-

[36] Cf. Hardie 1986, 25–8, 340–3.

mans (367–74): "Did it fall from heaven? Had the Almighty launched thunderbolts …? Had the vexed earth burst asunder …?

6. (11.440–80) Song of Teuthras on the cosmogony and the cosmic effects of the music of the lyre: on earth (Amphion); at sea (Arion); Cheiron's lyre "could quell the raging sea or the wrath of hell"; the lyre of Orpheus "earned a place in heaven and shone there among the bright stars …".

7. (14.1–78) Description of Sicily, its spectacular origin (separated from the Italian continent) and its miracles, cf. Lucretius' praise of Empedocles in Book 1 of *De rerum natura* (716–33).

8. (14.341–52) A rather surprising eulogy of Archimedes as cosmologist—with expert knowledge about earth, sun, ocean, tides—in the context of the siege of Syracuse (we may compare the more logical priority in Livy 24.34.1: *Archimedes, unicus spectator caeli siderumque, mirabilior tamen inuentor ac machinator*). There is no need for an *ad hoc* explanation such as given by Burck (Silius would have used here "eine andere Quelle als Livius").[37] Silius' eulogy fits perfectly well in the series of cosmic amplifications in the *Punica*.

9. (15.711–4) The Italian army attacks the enemy (the list of short cosmic similes has, to my taste, a somewhat mechanical character).

> Acrius hoc Italum pubes incurrit et urget,
> ut *torrens*, ut *tempestas*, ut flamma corusci
> *fulminis*, ut *Borean* pontus fugit, ut caua currunt
> *nubila*, cum pelago caelum permiscuit *Eurus*.
>
> (Sil. 15.711–4)

> All the more fiercely the Romans assailed the foe and pressed their attack, like a flood or a tempest, like the fire of a flashing thunderbolt, like the sea driven by the north-wind, like the hollow clouds that speed overhead when the east-wind has mingled sea and sky.

10. (16.33–7) Just as in the preceding example, Silius uses a list of short cosmic similes to illustrate the *maiestas* of Scipio.

> omnia ductor
> *magna* adeo Ausonius *maiori* mole premebat:
> ut *Phoebe* stellas, ut *fratris lumina* Phoeben
> exsuperant montesque *Atlas* et flumina *Nilus*,
> ut pater *Oceanus* Neptunia caerula uincit.
>
> (Sil. 16.33–7)

[37] Burck 1984, 29 and nn. 105–7.

> But the Roman general dwarfed all these great qualities by his greater force, as the stars are excelled by the moon and the moon by her brother's light; as Atlas is the monarch of mountains and the Nile of rivers; as Father Ocean is superior to all the seas.

This last example of the natural sublime as a point of reference for Scipio's superiority brings us back to the words from *Peri Hupsous* 35.4 quoted at the beginning of this paper: "Mankind is by nature led to marvel": not at little streams, but at great rivers like the *Nile*, the Danube or the Rhine, and still more at the *Ocean*; not at little fires, but at the *fires of heaven* and at the eruptions of the Volcano Etna".

7. ROME THEN AND NOW: LINKING THE SAGUNTUM AND CANNAE EPISODES IN SILIUS ITALICUS' *PUNICA*

William J. Dominik

The Cannae episode of Silius Italicus' *Punica* 8–10 takes up and elaborates upon the epic's opening episode, which introduces the major themes, images and figures of the epic. The Saguntum episode, which comprises *Punica* 1–2, functions programmatically by directing the reader to the *Punica*'s levels of narrative, by providing guidelines for reading and understanding the text, and by establishing the main narrative mode whereby Silius epicises the past to represent the reality of Rome. In the Saguntum episode the idea of Rome and her ideal qualities are articulated programmatically to provide a conceptual framework for reading the epic narrative in a way that undercuts Rome's ideal image of itself as an active moral force. Silius' treatment of the Cannae episode, which forms the narrative focal point of the *Punica*, bears narrative testimony.

The Saguntum episode makes clear that the *Punica* is to be read in conjunction with republican and other imperial texts. The reader is encouraged from the very beginning of the *Punica* to read the narrative through such writers as Homer, Ennius, Virgil, Livy, Ovid, Lucan and Statius. Virgil's *Aeneid*, Lucan's *Bellum Ciuile* and Statius' *Thebaid* provide illuminating contexts for reading the *Punica*. The *Punica*, like the *Aeneid*, narrates a story moving from military annihilation to geo-political hegemony; like *Bellum Ciuile*, an account of political dissolution arising from military victory; and like the *Thebaid*, a story of the abuse of power leading to social disintegration. While *Bellum Ciuile* looks back upon the second Punic war, the *Thebaid* and *Aeneid* look forward to the time of the war. Despite the different perspectives of the narratives, the victims of the wars described in these epics endure a fate similar to the victims of the republican civil wars alluded to in *Punica* 13.853–67.

The opening episode of the *Punica* shows that the origins of Rome's moral and civil decline are apparent from the outset of the war since the Saguntines' devotion to the Roman ideals of *fides* and *pietas*

results in their abandonment by Rome and the destruction of their city. In this episode Saguntum is depicted as a surrogate Rome and the citizens' embodiment of *fides* and *pietas* is portrayed as being morally useless and politically calamitous. Rome survives to fight another day, but her geopolitical self-interest, martial fervour, diplomatic belligerence and lack of human compassion allow her to triumph and to maintain her hegemony over her allies and rivals. This is the true index of Rome and the reader is encouraged to look for other examples of these qualities throughout the *Punica*. Such instances abound in the Cannae episode.

1.

The Cannae narrative in *Punica* 8–10 enhances the same unflattering implied commentary on Flavian Rome that is established in the programmatic episode of *Punica* 1–2. Right at the narrative heart of the episode and epic Silius reinvokes the Muses by asking: *tantumne datis confidere linguae, / ut Cannas uno ore sonem?*[1] ("Do you entrust me with such bold speech that I can sing of Cannae with one voice?", 9.342–3). The Cannae narrative, as the Saguntum episode and the *Punica* do as a whole, invites a polysemous reading. The programmatic proem of the *Punica* (1.1–16) proclaims the second Punic war as its subject and suggests that the qualities that made Rome a great power have deserted her citizens: *obsessa Palatia uallo / Poenorum, ac muris defendit Roma salutem* ("the Palatine was besieged by a rampart of the Phoenicians [i.e. Carthaginians] and Rome defended her safety by walls", 15–6). Similarly the battle of Cannae and its result is presaged by Juno early in the *Punica*: *"dum Cannas, tumulum Hesperiae campumque cruore / Ausonio mersum sublimis Iapyga cernam"* ("I shall see from heaven Cannae, the grave of Hesperia [i.e. Italy], and the Iapygian plain flooded with Ausonian [i.e. Roman] blood", 50–1). The Saguntum and Cannae episodes both suggest that the origins of the Roman propensity for civil strife lay in the events of the second Punic war.

The Cannae episode itself is framed by two significant passages suggesting this unflattering commentary on Flavian Rome: the election of the demagogue Varro to the consulship (Sil. 8.243–57), which is por-

[1] The text used of Silius Italicus' *Punica* is that of Delz 1987. All other citations are from the Teubner editions.

trayed by Silius as the representation and precursor of civil discord, and Silius' apostrophe of Carthage after his description of the defeat of the Roman army at Cannae (10.657–8). This narrative framing and description of Rome's greatest military defeat stresses the link between Rome's eventual victory over Carthage and her descent into civil and moral anarchy. Scipio's victory over Hannibal at Zama (cf. 17.618) was the first step on this path of decline, as Scipio himself predicts when he is moved to say, *"restare haec ordine duro / lamentor rebus Latiis"* ("I lament the grim future ahead for the Roman nation", 13.868–9). Zama's principal legacy was the pursuit and abuse of power, so compellingly elaborated upon in Statius' *Thebaid*.[2] Like the programmatic episode of *Punica* 1–2, the narrative centrepiece of the *Punica* forms part of the vision of political and ideological reality of a poet who experienced the reigns of no fewer than a dozen emperors from Tiberius to Trajan in the first century AD.

Silius' narrative strategy in the *Punica* includes the elastic use of time. Although Silius gives the impression of generally relating events in chronological sequence, his view of epic time is synchronic rather than diachronic, vertical rather than linear. Past and present often seem to become merged in the same narrative frame, enhanced by Silius' tendency to shift tense frequently between the event he describes and the time of his own narration, giving the impression that the event, though belonging to the past, still continues. Among other chronological strategies, Silius reduces some historical events in scope or even omits them, while he expands other events. Silius' programmatic account of the siege of Saguntum is a good illustration of this narrative expansion. He devotes almost two books to the events surrounding the siege, whereas Polybius devotes only one chapter (17) in Book 3 to the assault and Livy discusses the episode in ten chapters (7–16) in Book 21. Silius extends his narration of the Saguntum episode far in excess of its historical significance in order to stress its programmatic function.[3] Similarly his account of the battle of Cannae far exceeds that of his predecessors. Silius devotes three books of the *Punica* (8, 9 and 10) to events surrounding the battle of Cannae, whereas Ennius treats the Cannae episode somewhere in *Annales* 8, which covers the commencement of the war to the departure of Scipio for Africa; Poly-

[2] See Dominik 1994, 1–75.
[3] Dominik 2003, 471–2.

bius devotes twelve chapters (3.107–18) to events at Cannae; and Livy discusses the episode in nineteen chapters (22.43–61). The obvious effect of Silius' narrative expansion of events at Cannae is to stress their magnitude.

Even more significant than Silius' expansion of the Cannae narrative is its placement. In historical terms the battle of Cannae was fought in 216 BC in the third year of a war that ended in 201. To situate a battle that occurs three years into the war at the midpoint of an epic narrative that covers eighteen years obviously stresses its importance.[4] By contrast the middle point of Livy's historical narrative is Hannibal's withdrawal from Italy in 211. As events at Saguntum comprise the programmatic episode of his epic, Cannae is its narrative core. Silius' reinvocation of the Muses stands at the midpoint of both the *Punica* and of the Cannae narrative:

> Speramusne, deae, quarum mihi sacra coluntur,
> mortali totum hunc aperire in saecula uoce
> posse diem? tantumne datis confidere linguae,
> ut Cannas uno ore sonem? si gloria uobis
> nostra placet neque uos magnis auertitis ausis,
> huc omnis cantus Phoebumque uocate parentem.
> uerum utinam posthac animo, Romane, secunda,
> quanto nunc aduersa, feras! sitque hactenus, oro,
> nec libeat temptare deis, an Troia proles
> par bellum tolerare queat. tuque anxia fati
> pone, precor, lacrimas et adora uulnera laudes
> perpetuas paritura tibi. nam tempore, Roma,
> nullo maior eris. mox sic labere secundis,
> ut sola cladum tuearis nomina fama.
>
> (Sil. 9.340–53)

> Can I hope, goddesses, whose sacred rites I venerate, / to disclose with mortal voice for future ages the events / of this whole day? Do you entrust me with such bold speech / so that I can sing of Cannae with one voice? If my fame / pleases you and you do not turn from a great enterprise, / then summon forth your songs and your father Apollo. / But would that you, Roman, bear good fortune thereafter with / as much courage as you did then in hardship! I pray only / that it may not please the gods to test the Trojan race whether / it can endure such a war again. And you, Rome, unsure of / your fate, put aside your tears, I pray, and revere the wounds that / will bring you everlasting praise. For you, Rome, will never be / greater than at that time. Subsequent success

[4] Cf. Kißell 1979, 209–22; Ahl, Davis and Pomeroy 1986, 2505–11.

> will weaken you / so that the name alone of your defeats will safeguard your fame.

Rome's future standing in the world will not be founded upon the memory of her victories. Ironically the shame of her most disastrous defeat will assure the glory for Rome that military success and an empire will not bring it. According to Silius, the Roman character is so transformed by victory that her values, already shown to be ruinous for the Saguntines in the programmatic episode, survive only in the account of her greatest setback. The moment of her most conspicuous display of values in the form of her bravery and heroism is to be found at Cannae.

2.

In *Punica* 8 Silius establishes the foundation for his account of events surrounding the battle of Cannae. At the start of the book Hannibal is infuriated and anxious over the effectiveness of the delaying tactics of Fabius (8.3–12). He is concerned about his broken supply lines (12–3), Gallic allies who are losing their stomach for the fight on account of military inaction (16–20), and domestic opposition at home from Hanno and his countrymen (21–4). The stage is set for the appearance of Anna Perenna (28–225), who bears a directive from Juno for Hannibal (211–24; cf. 30–8), and the election as consul in Rome of Gaius Terentius Varro, who leads the army into battle against Hannibal (243–348). The significance of the roles of Anna and Varro becomes manifest: both are characters with Roman associations whose actions directly assist Hannibal in his mission against Rome.

Silius introduces Anna as part of the supernatural intercession of Juno early in the Cannae episode, just as he introduces the divine level early in Book 1 in the figure of Juno, who is described as having infused the Carthaginians with *furor* ("madness") against the Romans in the first and second Punic wars (Sil. 1.29–38), which mirrors her actions in inspiring the Rutulians and Latins against the Trojans after they had arrived in Italy. Hannibal, like Dido, Amata and Turnus, is to serve as Juno's human instrument in yet another attempt to block Rome's march toward geopolitical hegemony (1.38–55). At the beginning of *Punica* 8 Juno sends Anna to boost Hannibal's spirits as a Carthaginian goddess who is venerated in Italy (30–8; cf. 41–3). Silius

relates the story of Anna (Sil. 8.50–201),[5] a figure taken from from Virgil's *Aeneid* (4.6–59, 412–503, 630–92) and Ovid's *Fasti* (3.523–696). Silius' narration of the tale of Anna, which incorporates Anna's implication of Aeneas in the suicide of her sister Dido (Sil. 8.126–49), links the Cannae episode to his account of the siege of Saguntum.

The story of Anna in *Punica* 8 evokes reminiscence of the Saguntum episode especially in *Punica* 2, where Juno manipulates Tisiphone (526–695). In response to Hercules' appeal to Fides to assist Saguntum (2.475–92), Fides claims that she can only grant the Saguntines a glorious death (2.507–8, 511–2). Juno catches sight of Fides' encouragement of the Saguntines and despatches Tisiphone to Saguntum to hasten their deaths (Sil. 2.526–52), just as she had sent Allecto in Virgil's *Aeneid* to incite war and hatred (*A*. 7.331–40). The Saguntines do not act upon the instructions of Tisiphone until she possesses them, but her role is essentially the same as Fides—to incite the Saguntines to destruction. Even though the goddesses oppose each other, they are unwitting associates in death. Deceived and possessed by the fury, the Saguntines commit suicide en masse, the act and aftermath of which is described in the rest of *Punica* 2 (614–707), a scene that so vividly recalls similar scenes of mass destruction in *Bellum Ciuile* 2 (148–59) and *Thebaid* 5 (207–61). Saguntum finally falls with Tisiphone's attempt to pervert the aim of Fides, which in effect achieves the same goal of mass suicide. Hannibal's defeat of Saguntum in *Punica* 2 is directly attributable to Juno's intercession. Although Juno's intention is to assist Hannibal, his defeat of the Saguntines cannot really be said to serve as a demonstration of Hannibal's heroism.

Similarly Juno in *Punica* 8 becomes the prime mover of Hannibal's fate by despatching Anna to infuse Hannibal with martial frenzy (8.30–8; cf. 202–25). Just as Juno sends Tisiphone to inspire the Saguntines to what amounts to an early death (2.526–52), she incites Hannibal to victory at Cannae through the agency of Anna. The narrative raises the question: *cur Sarrana dicent Oenotri numina templo / regnisque Aeneadum germana colatur Elissae* ("Why should the Oenotrians [i.e. Italians] dedicate a temple to a Sarranan [i.e, Carthagin-

[5] Lines 144–225, however, may be spurious. Heitland 1896, 188–211; Duff 1934, xvii; Kißel 1979, 193–6 and n. 100; Volpilhac, Miniconi and Devallet 1981, 125–7; Spaltenstein 1986, 508–9 *ad* 8.144; and Brugnoli and Santini 1995, 55–98 consider the verses (most likely) to be genuine, while Delz 1987, lxiv–lxviii disputes their authenticity.

ian] deity, and why should Dido's sister be worshipped in the kingdom of the Aeneadae?", 8.46–7). Silius emphasises Anna's connection to Rome by relating the story of her flight from Cyrene to Italy, where Aeneas receives her hospitably (8.76–7), to evade the murderous intentions of her brother Pygmalion (57–70). One would expect Anna as an Italian goddess (43) to assist Rome. But as Dido's sister (47, 55) Anna is a figure invested with Carthaginian associations. Anna's real loyalty remains with Carthage (41–2) and with Dido, who appears to her as a more hostile, even vengeful, figure than she is portrayed in the *Aeneid* (Sil. 8.168–83, esp. 173–5; cf. *A.* 4.590–662). The irony in the Cannae episode is that Juno, in undermining Rome's interests by assisting Hannibal, actually propels him along a path that will lead eventually to his downfall. On a couple of levels Anna, Juno's divine instrument, emerges as an ambiguous figure. This is most apparent in the way that she straddles the boundary between her Roman and Carthaginian interests (Sil. 8.41–3).[6] In addition, Silius constructs Anna as a heroine with familial values and devotion, but this presentation is destabilised by her role of helping to precipitate one of the most gruesome battles of the second Punic war. Her shifting loyalties provide an example of a Roman figure on the supernatural level assisting the Carthaginian cause.

3.

Since the *Punica* is full of allusions to other texts, especially the *Aeneid*, *Bellum Ciuile* and *Thebaid*,[7] it is apparent that its poetic import similarly lies partly in the nature of its relationship to these works. The allusiveness to the *Aeneid* in the *Punica* is pervasive, but there is no suggestion that the present and future are founded on a glorious sense of Rome's imperial mission. The *Zeitgeist* of Lucan's *Bellum Ciuile* and Statius' *Thebaid*—the atmosphere of violence, greed and fear—permeates the Saguntum and Cannae narratives and is mirrored in the accounts by the ancient historians and biographers of the civil wars at Rome during the first centuries BC and AD. It is exemplified elsewhere

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6 Cf. Santini 1992, 390–2.

7 The *Punica* and *Thebaid* show signs of mutual influence. The *Thebaid* was written roughly between AD 79 and 91. Wistrand 1956 argues for a dating of the composition of the *Punica* that encompasses the period of the *Thebaid*'s composition.

in the *Punica*, significantly just before the Roman defeat at Cannae in the election of Terentius Varro to the consulship, which is portrayed by Silius as the representation and precursor of civil discord:

subnixus rapto plebei muneris ostro
saeuit iam rostris Varro ingentique ruinae
festinans aperire locum fata admouet urbi.
atque illi sine luce genus surdumque parentum
nomen, at immodice uibrabat in ore canoro
lingua procax. hinc auctus opes largusque rapinae,
infima dum uulgi fouet oblatratque senatum,
tantum in quassata bellis caput extulit urbe,
momentum ut rerum et fati foret arbiter unus,
quo conseruari Latium uictore puderet.
hunc Fabios inter sacrataque nomina Marti
Scipiadas interque Ioui spolia alta ferentem
Marcellum fastis labem suffragia caeca
addiderant, Cannasque malum exitiale fouebat
ambitus et Graio funestior aequore Campus.

(Sil. 8.243–57)

Meanwhile Varro rants from the rostrum, bolstered by the purple / seized by the gift of the people, and rushing to create an / occasion for massive ruin brings the city near its end. / His family lacked distinction; his parents' name was never heard. / But his insolent tongue flapped ceaselessly in a droning voice. / He gained wealth in this way and was generous with his plunder; / he courted the dregs of the mob and raged at the senate, / until he rose so high in the war-torn city that he was / the cause of events and the sole arbiter of Rome's fate, / even though Latium might feel shame to be saved by this victor. / Blind voters had given him, that disaster for the Fasti, / a place among the Fabii and the Scipios, whose names / are sacred to Mars, and Marcellus, who gave his lofty spoils / to Jove. Bribery and the Campus Martius, more deadly than / the battlefield of Cannae, caused its ruinous disaster.

This scene featuring Varro, who abets the interests of Carthage, is complementary to the previous setting in which a Roman figure on the supernatural level assists the Carthaginians. As Fabius remarks to the co-consul Paulus, Varro poses a greater danger to Rome than Hannibal does:

"si tibi cum Tyrio credis fore maxima bella
ductore (inuitus uocem hanc e pectore rumpam)
frustraris, Paule. Ausoniae te proelia dira
teque hostis castris grauior manet …"

(Sil. 8.297–300)

> "If you think that the greatest wars will be with the Tyrian [i.e. Carthaginian] / leader (I shall declare this from the heart against my will), / you are deceived, Paulus. Dire battles in Ausonia [i.e. Italy] / remain for you and a greater foe in your camp …"

Here in the Varro episode Silius suggests that the seeds of Roman civil war were sown during the war with Hannibal when a demagogue such as Varro manages to attain the same political rank as the Fabii, the Scipios and Marcellus. In the eyes of Paulus, Varro is a gift to Carthage and more ruthless in his designs on Rome than a Carthaginian senator (cf. 8.332–6). Silius emphasises this theme of civil discord by comparing Varro leading the army from Rome to an inexperienced charioteer losing control of the reins (*frena … discordia*, 283) out of the starting gate (8.278–83), which specifically recalls Virgil's simile at the end of *Georgics* 1 comparing the civil wars of the 40s BC to a chariot out of control (1.510–4).[8] Although Silius looks forward in narrative terms to the late republic as inspiration for the Varro episode, the theme of civil discord goes back to the very foundation of Rome when Romulus' slaying of Remus seemed to later Romans to foredoom her to eternal civil strife (cf. Hor. *Epod.* 7.17–20; Livy 1.6.4–2.7.3). But it also looks forward to the Rome of Silius' day, since the theme of fraternal strife in the imperial house was a political *locus communis* for civil discord in the first century AD.

In *Punica* 13 Silius picks up on this theme in depicting discord between consuls (e.g., Varro and Paulus), senators (e.g., Lentulus and Fabius) and generals (e.g., Fabius and Minucius). This factious climate is particularly evident in the sibyl's prophecy of the civil wars of the 80s and 40s BC featuring the antagonists Marius and Sulla (853–60) and then Pompey and Caesar (861–7) respectively:

> "hic Marius; nec multa dies iam restat ituro
> aetheriam in lucem; ueniet tibi origine parua
> in longum imperium consul. nec Sulla morari
> iussa potest, aut amne diu potare soporo:
> lux uocat et nulli diuum mutabile fatum.
> imperium hic primus rapiet, sed gloria culpae,
> quod reddet solus, nec tanto in nomine quisquam
> existet, Sullae qui se uelit esse secundum.
> ille, hirta cui subrigitur coma fronte, decorum
> et gratum terris Magnus caput: ille, deum gens,

[8] Cf. McGuire 1997, 131–2.

stelligerum attollens apicem, Troianus Iulo
Caesar auo. quantas moles, cum sede reclusa
hinc tandem erumpent, terraque marique mouebunt!
heu miseri, quotiens toto pugnabitis orbe!
nec leuiora lues quam uictus crimina, uictor."

(Sil. 13.853–67)

"Here is Marius: it is not long before he will ascend / to the upper world. From humble origins he will become consul / for a long period of rule. Nor is Sulla able to delay following / the orders or to drink long from the river of forgetfulness. / Life calls him and the fate that none of the gods can change. / This man will be the first to seize supreme command, but guilty / though he is, he alone will resign it. Nor will any man / who attains such power be willing to follow Sulla's lead. / That handsome head pleasing to the world is that of Magnus, with / its shaggy hair rising from the forehead. The other, whose head / bears a starry crown, is Trojan Caesar, the offspring of gods / through his ancestor Iulus. When they break forth at last, freed from / their underworld seclusion, they will shake hard the earth and sea! / Ah, wretched men, how often you will fight throughout the whole world! / Nor will you, victor, pay less lightly for crimes than the vanquished."

Silius seems to suggest that history never changes: it merely repeats itself in cyclical fashion. Cities (Troy, Alba Longa, Ardea, Saguntum, Carthage) come and go; only the names change. Time present and time future are contained in time past. As Fabius himself observes, *"non ulla perenni / amplexu Fortuna fouet"* ("Fortune never embraces anyone forever", 7.244–5). In Petronius' *Satyricon* Eumolpus recites a mini-epic on the civil war of 49–45 BC between Caesar and Pompey (119–24) in which Fortune decrees and ensures that an arrogant, corrupted Rome has her day of reckoning on the blood-drenched fields of civil war in the republic (120–4). It has been argued that Silius does not relate the sibyl's vision of the future in *Punica* 13.853–67 to Scipio's present.[9] But in this passage the sibyl pointedly remarks, *"nec leuiora lues quam uictus crimina, uictor"* ("you, victor [Caesar], will pay no less lightly for crimes than the vanquished [Pompey]", 13.867), a warning that seems applicable at least to some degree to the Romans of Scipio's day.

In his preface to the *Punica* Silius echoes Livy 21.1.1–3 in this observation: *propiusque fuere periclo, / quis superare datum* ("those who were given victory came nearer to ruin", Sil. 1.13–4). This statement could naturally mean that Rome emerged victorious despite almost being

[9] Horsfall 1995, 291.

defeated by Hannibal. The question also arises as to when Rome came closer to destruction—before or after her defeat of Carthage? To Juvenal the proximity of Hannibal to Rome was critical to the preservation of her traditional values (6.287–91, esp. 290–1). Sallust observes that the victory over Carthage marked the beginning of a decline in Roman fortune and morals (*Cat.* 10). Velleius Paterculus remarks similarly that Rome's victory hastened the abandonment of her traditional virtues and disciplines (2.1–2). After the Carthaginian victory at Cannae, Hanno, Hannibal's Carthaginian rival, is moved to remark, *"uos ego, uos metuo, Cannae"* ("I fear you, Cannae, you", Sil. 11.574). So too might have the Romans, as Silius did. For after describing the defeat of the Roman army at Cannae, Silius apostrophises Carthage, *haec tum Roma fuit* ("This then was Rome of that age", 10.657), then observes, *post te cui uertere mores / si stabat fatis, potius, Carthago, maneres* ("If fate was fixed that our nature should change after you fell, Carthage, would that you still remained", 10.657–8; cf. 3.588–90). By placing this apostrophe not only at the close of the section describing Rome's greatest military defeat but also at the end of the tenth book, Silius stresses the significance of the victory for Rome's decline in national character. The citizens of Rome are just as responsible as their leaders for the moral corruption that leads to civil strife, for they are bribed and vote blindly for a demagogue such as Varro (cf. 8.253–7). Carthage is ruined militarily by defeat but Rome is ruined morally by victory. Scholars have maintained that there is nothing in the sibyl's vision (13.853–67) to take the reader into the imperial period,[10] but these qualities are reflected in other poetic representations of Rome, for example, those of Virgil and and Lucan, and historical accounts, for example, of Sallust and Tacitus, which describe civil war and moral decline at Rome during the republic and empire.

4.

Silius prefigures other narrative techniques in the Saguntum episode that he uses in the Cannae episode. One of these is his technique of obscuring and sometimes reversing national and personal identities. Another is his technique of alluding to passages suggestive of civil strife from other imperial poets, particularly Lucan and Statius. At the

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[10] Ahl, Davis and Pomeroy 1986, 2552–3.

end of *Punica* 8 a Roman soldier is filled with an apocalyptic vision of the coming battle at Cannae:

> gestat Agenoreus nostro de more secures
> consulis, et sparsos lictor fert sanguine fasces.
> in Libyam Ausonii portatur pompa triumphi.
>
> (Sil. 8.671–3)
>
> The Agenorean [i.e. Carthaginian] bears the consul's axes after / our custom, and his lictor carries fasces spattered with blood. / The Ausonian [i.e. Roman] triumphal parade is brought to Libya.

The Carthaginians will celebrate their victory at Cannae by appropriating the symbols of Roman culture and power. Similar to the way that Saguntum is depicted throughout the programmatic episode, the Carthaginians are portrayed here entirely in Roman terms.

Romans too assume the role of Carthaginians. At the beginning of *Punica* 9 Mancinus, a Roman soldier, is slain during a clash on the evening before the battle (12–4). During the night his father Satricus, a Libyan slave of Italian origin endeavouring to escape from the Carthaginian camp, comes upon and begins to despoil his corpse, unknowingly, of course (67–89). Solimus, the other son of Satricus, who is attempting to locate his brother's corpse, comes upon his own father, whom he does not recognise, and fatally wounds him (90–105). At first Satricus assumes he has been wounded by a Carthaginian (103–4) but then realises that it is his own son. As Satricus lies dying, he identifies himself to Solimus but then declares, *"iaceres in me cum feruidus hastam, / Poenus eram"* ("When you hurled your frenzied spear at me, I was a Carthaginian", 129–30), wherepon Solimus turns his sword upon himself (120–77).

The story of Satricus and Solimus recalls Tacitus' account of parricide during the civil war of AD 68–69 in which Julius Mansuetus mortally wounds his father before recognising him (*Hist.* 3.25). The close association established by Tacitus between parricide and civil war in this scene is suggested in Silius' narrative. The *polluta dextra* ("polluted right hand", 169) of Solimus, who hurls a spear into the back of his father (102–3), and the *ensis* ("sword", 173), which Solimus plunges into his own body (173), resemble the programmatic image-symbols of civil discord in *Bellum Ciuile* and the *Thebaid.* The Lucanian *dextra* ("right hands", Luc. 1.3) of the Roman people, who in victory eviscerate their own bodies (2–3), and the Statian *arma* ("arms", *Theb.*

1.33) and *sceptrum* ("sceptre", 34) are evocative of internecine war and manic, irreverent power (cf. 33–7).

The consequences of the mistakened identities of Mancinus, Satricus and Solimus recall on a micro level the parricides committed on a mass scale in the Saguntum episode (cf. Sil. 2.614–49, 655–80): son kills father, son commits suicide. The identities of the victims in Saguntum, however, are even more muddled: *Semambusta iacet nullo discrimine passim / infelix obitus permixto funere turba* ("The corpses, wretched in death, lie half-consumed everywhere without distinction in a mass grave", 2.681–2). Both parricides reflect the confusion that results from the Carthaginian threat and civil disorder. The mass parricide of the Saguntines is similar to scenes in Lucan's *Bellum Ciuile* (2.148–59)[11] and Statius' *Thebaid* (5.207–61) in respect of the horrific nature of the crimes, the innominate scrambled corpses that litter the city, and (in *Bellum Ciuile* 2.156–7) in the conquered attempting to steal deaths from their conquerors.[12] The parricide of Solimus, though inadvertent, similarly evokes reminiscence of *Bellum Ciuile* and the *Thebaid* in the confrontation between family members, to which Lucan and Statius pointedly allude at the beginning of their epics: *cognatas acies* ("familial strife", Luc. 1.3) and *fraternas acies* ("fraternal strife", *Theb.* 1.1). In the throes of death Solimus composes a message in his own blood from his father on his brother's shield (Sil. 9.173–5): *FVGE PROELIA VARRO* ("Flee the battles, Varro", 175). The message brings to mind Lucan's admonition to Pompey in *Bellum Ciuile* (*fuge proelia dira*, "Flee the deadly battles", 7.689) and Palaemon's warning to Adrastus in the *Thebaid* (*uerte gradum, fuge rector*, "turn around; flee, king", 8.138).

At Cannae, even the gods are drawn into the conflict on the human level and fight among themselves:

> Nec uero fati tam saeuo in turbine solum
> terrarum fuit ille labor. discordia demens
> intrauit caelo superosque ad bella coegit.
>
> (Sil. 9.287–9)

> Nor in the midst of this raging vortex was / the strife limited to earth; the madness of discord / overran heaven and drove the gods to war.

In the *Punica* earthly *furor* ("madness") pervades the heavens and contaminates the gods who are so noticeably missing from Lucan's

[11] McGuire 1997, 213–4.
[12] Dominik 2003, 487–8.

Bellum Ciuile. Apollo, Mars, Venus, Vesta, Hercules, Cybele, Faunus, Quirinus and Pollux go to war against Juno, Pallas, Ammon and other minor deities (Sil. 9.290–9). The madness is so pervasive that heaven is left deserted as all the gods descend to the battlefield (303). While this madness anticipates the *Weltanschauung* of *Bellum Ciuile*, in which civil war is *furor* almost right from the start of the epic (Luc. 1.8), it is reminiscent of the mood of the *Thebaid*, in which Furor (e.g., *Theb.* 4.661, 7.52) and Discordia significantly *are* gods (e.g., 5.74, 7.50).

Another strategy that Silius uses in his Cannae narrative is his anachronous use of names and descriptions of soldiers suggestive of civil war during the republican and imperial eras.[13] This is especially apparent in the extensive catalogue of Roman warriors in the second half of *Punica* 8 (356–616), which resembles the catalogue of Latin troops assembled against Aeneas in *Aeneid* 7 (747–817). Names such as Nero (Sil. 8.412), Piso (462) and Galba (468) bring to mind the conflict of AD 68–69, while Brutus (8.360, 607), Sulla (392), Tullius (403), Curio (424), Scipio (546) and Cethegus (575) are names associated with the civil wars of the republican era.[14] The insistent allusion in the Cannae episode to figures and events of the first centuries BC and AD remind the reader that the Rome of this period contains the seeds of her descent into civil discord. The names include those of emperors, politicians and generals who came increasingly to dominate the fractious political and military landscape of Rome. The specific mention of Scipio Africanus (Sil. 8.546) among names suggestive of a self-centred style of leadership foreshadows his own expanded role as the war moves into its final stages. Before the senate Scipio argues that he should be allowed to lead the Roman forces into Africa:

> "nunc ultimus actis
> restat Carthago nostris labor. hoc sator aeui
> Iuppiter aeterni monet. Hannibali ecce senectus
> intremit aut aegros simulat mentita timores,
> ne finem longis tandem peperisse ruinis
> sit noster titulus. certe iam dextera nobis
> experta, et robur florentibus auximus annis."

(Sil. 16.663–9)

[13] See the detailed discussions of McGuire 1995, 110–8; 1997, 136–44.
[14] McGuire 1995, 113; 1997, 138.

> "Now Carthage remains / my final task after all my deeds. Jupiter, the father / of eternal life, foretells this. Look! Either the old men / tremble at Hannibal or pretend by acting afraid / so that the final outcome of our long string of disasters / may not be my title. Surely now my right arm has proven / itself and I have grown in strength with maturing years."

There is an obvious suggestion of self-aggrandisement here since the military expedition led by Scipio will result in the Roman senate conferring the honorary title of *Africanus* upon him (Sil. 17.625–6; cf. 16.668). But there is a hint too in his plea of the blind ambition of Rome's leaders that leads to civil war and her dismemberment in Lucan's world (cf. Luc. 1.87–9).

By the end of the *Punica* Scipio has become a figure larger than life. In the final lines of the epic Silius thus apostrophises him: *nec uero, cum te memorat de stirpe deorum, / prolem Tarpei, mentitur Roma, Tonantis* ("Rome surely does not lie when she declares you of divine lineage and the son of the Tarpeian [i.e. Capitoline] Thunderer", Sil. 17.653–4). In the sibyl's prophecy of the civil wars to afflict Rome (13.853–67), Caesar is portrayed as being a descendant of the gods through Iulus and as wearing a *stelliger apex* ("starry crown", 863) emblematic of his divine pretensions and status (862–4). At the close of the *Punica* Scipio is depicted similarly as a direct descendant of Jupiter and as a prototype of the deified Caesar. No longer simply human, Scipio has been heroicised and divinised in a manner redolent not only of the apotheosis of Caesar in the late republic but also of the Roman emperors under the imperial cult.

8. QUEEN DIRCE AND THE SPARTOI: WANDERING THROUGH STATIUS' THEBAN PAST AND THE *THEBAID*'S EARLY PRINTED EDITIONS[1]

Valéry Berlincourt

Early commentaries on the *Thebaid*[2] are only occasionally used by modern classicists. The limited intrinsic interest of most of these books, as well as the legitimate belief that every contribution they could make has been absorbed into later scholarship, may be thought to justify such reticence. And yet, when facing a difficult poem that has been studied little (and commented on even less) in recent times until the last few decades, some critics understandably feel the need to compare their own views with this early material, or want to give an idea of the interpretative paths followed by Statius' readers through the centuries. The aim of these pages is to show why a thorough overall study will help us to make a better use of this exegetical tradition, which is actually more complex than we may think at first sight, and why it can also encourage reflection on particular issues of interest to modern critics.

[1] I would like to express my deep gratitude to Laura Micozzi, François Spaltenstein and Jean Trinquier for their critiques and suggestions at various stages of elaboration, and in particular to Jean-Jacques Aubert and Michael Dewar, who also corrected my English; and, as well, to the Swiss National Science Foundation and the Janggen-Pöhn Foundation, whose scholarships allowed me to collect much of the material presented here.

[2] By "commentary" I broadly mean any exegetical material following the sequence of lines in the poem. Between the late 15th and the mid-19th century, Anderson 2000, 536–72 lists more than 70 editions and translations (excluding the reprints), of which more than twenty contain such material (I have been unable to consult a few of them). The density and extension of the notes range in Book 3, which I have used as my sample, between four notes (Cormiliolle's translation, Paris 1783) and 209 pages (Barth's commentary, Zwickau 1664). The editions cited are listed in the *Appendix*.

Early commentaries: General features

Commenting on Stat. *Theb.* 3.217 *seraeque decus uelit addere morti*, where the narrator explains what drives the old Theban Aletes to denounce Eteocles' crimes, Amar and Lemaire (Paris 1825–30) have an interesting note: by attributing quasi-suicidal tendencies to this character, they implicitly reinforce the thematic relationship with Maeon, who has committed suicide after denouncing Eteocles' crimes (3.53–113).

> *Seraeque velit decus addere morti.* Ipsi serum videbatur naturae lege mori, itaque volebat per virtutem ad mortem properare. Multi veterum sapientum summam gloriam ponebant in comtemtu mortis.
>
> (Paris 1825–30 (Amar-Lemaire) *ad* 3.217)

> *Seraeque velit decus addere morti.* In his own eyes to die by nature's law seemed like dying too late, and hence he wished to hasten towards death by means of courage. Among the wise men of antiquity many located the highest glory in the scorning of death.

This (unsigned) note might, for example, deserve to be mentioned in a modern commentary. But can we simply attribute it to Amar and Lemaire? Anyone accustomed to reading early commentaries knows that they frequently repeat more or less closely the content of earlier editions: this note is derived word for word, indeed, from Beraldus' note (Paris 1685), which itself reformulated the content of a scholion cited by Barth (Zwickau 1664).[3] As a consequence, here we should either indicate Beraldus as the effective source, or cite directly from Barth's commentary.

Before using any early commentary, either as an object of study in itself or merely as a source for exegetical material, our first task should be, then, to establish precisely its specific nature and determine

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[3] Zwickau 1664 (Barth): "*Serae morti.*] *Diu dilatae: Vel videbatur serum ipsi per naturam mori, itaque volebat per virtutem properare ad mortem. Multi veterum sapientum, summam auctoritatem ponebant in contemtu Mortis.* V. Schol. Sane perqvam bene. Vide Epistolam Bruti ad Ciceronem, qua illum ab adulando Octavio adolescente dehortatur. Et sermonem Stobaei CXVII. Platonem Apologia Socratis, Epictetum Arriani, M. Antonium [emendanda: 'Antoninum'] multis locis &c."
The actual path is more complex: Barth / Veenhusen / Beraldus / Valpy / Amar-Lemaire (see below). In this specific case Veenhusen cites only the scholion without referring to Barth.

what amount of inherited material it contains.[4] This is particularly important for the exegetical tradition of the *Thebaid*, which is extremely derivative.[5] Besides the important works of Bernartius (Antwerp 1595), Gronovius (Amsterdam 1653), Marolles-Guyet-Peyrarède (Paris 1658), and Barth (Zwickau 1664), only a few others[6] make a contribution that is principally original in character. If the Milan edition of 1782–8 evenly combines original and borrowed notes, most of the remaining (and especially of the extensive and influential) ones rely largely, or exclusively, on inherited material. This is the case of the book printed by Veenhusen (Leiden 1671), which, merely selecting, abbreviating,[7] and sometimes slightly altering notes from Lactantius Placidus, Bernartius, Gronovius, and Barth, opens the tradition of the *cum notis uariorum* editions of the *Thebaid*. The notes to the *ad usum Delphini* edition of Beraldus (Paris 1685) also consist almost entirely of material borrowed from earlier books, although the profound alteration and reelaboration bear witness to heavy editorial intervention.[8] Valpy's edition (London 1824) represents an extreme case, since its notes merely reprint those contained both in that of Beraldus (infratextual notes) and, with minute alterations, in that of Veenhusen (*notae uariorum*, printed in a distinct section).[9] Amar and Lemaire (Paris 1825–30) offer scarcely anything more, in their infratextual notes as well as in their "excursus", than what is already found in Valpy's book.[10] Very often, the Paris edition of 1829–32

[4] By "inherited material" I specifically mean elements borrowed from printed notes on the same passage. In a broader sense, most material is of course inherited, since the commentators do not create it *ex nihilo*.

[5] Compare for instance *ad* 3.217. For a detailed reconstruction of derivation in the Paris edition of 1825–30, and for methodological considerations, see Berlincourt 2004.

[6] Venice 1570, Pont-à-Mousson 1601, Paris 1620, London 1648, Milan 1731–2, Oxford 1767, Paris 1783, Venice 1786, and Paris 1842 (the last two also draw, very freely, on Lactantius Placidus' commentary and Amar-Lemaire's edition respectively). The notes in the *editio princeps* (Rome 1470) are closely related to several manuscript commentaries (group 7 in Anderson 2000, 726–9).

[7] See n. 3.

[8] See *ad* 3.217 discussed above. Beraldus' most original contribution is his Latin paraphrase. On the *ad usum Delphini* series, see Volpilhac-Auger 2000.

[9] Valpy's edition also reprints Beraldus' paraphrase. Its most original contribution is an apparatus of variant readings found in editions and manuscripts.

[10] Cf. n. 5. Apart from selection and slight alterations, Amar-Lemaire's only contributions are usually the collation of three manuscripts along with a very few additions and reformulations (see, however, *ad* 1.38 discussed n. 14).

(Rinn-Achaintre-Boutteville) merely reformulates and translates into French the notes found in that of Amar and Lemaire.[11] Weber (Frankfurt 1833) openly admits drawing material from earlier editions, in particular from those of Zwickau 1664 and Paris 1825–30.[12] Dubner (Paris 1835–6) borrows rather freely from several sources, but uses first and foremost the edition of Amar-Lemaire, whose influence is evident in all commentaries of this period.[13]

The overwhelming importance of derivation explains why early commentaries on the *Thebaid* provide, in most cases, little material helpful for the modern interpreter; it shows, too, why the analysis of a single edition that did not take into account its exact relationship to the preceding ones would barely be relevant. For the same reasons, the study of these editions *as a whole* may prove highly rewarding: it can open interesting perspectives about major processes operating in this kind of tradition, and allow us to understand the complex paths followed by exegetical elements through the centuries, as a result of their various modes of transmission.[14]

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[11] This analysis is based on Achaintre's notes to Books 1–4; the notes to Books 5–12, by Boutteville, are more original.

[12] Weber's very brief notes also include informations about variant readings.

[13] For its influence on the edition of Paris 1842, see n. 6.

[14] Compare for instance *ad* 3.217 (n. 3) with *ad* 3.106 (Bernartius / Beraldus / Valpy / Amar-Lemaire).

A more complex case is that of Paris 1825–30 (Amar-Lemaire) *ad* 1.38 (infratextual note): "*Caerula quum rubuit Lernaeo sanguine Dirce.* Dirce fons Boeotiae prope Thebas: antea Dirce Lyri [*sic*] Thebarum Regis uxor erat, quae ab Amphione et Zetho, caudae indomiti equi colligata, et diu raptata, tandem in fontem Deorum commiseratione mutata est: Musis sacer; unde Horat. lib. IV, od. 2; Pindarum poetam Thebanum vocat Dirceum cycnum. A." This note seems to synthesize Bernartius *ad* 3.204 ("*verso quod sanguine fluxit. / In subitos regina lacus*] respexit fabulam, qua Dirce, Lyci Thebarum regis coniunx, ab Amphione & Zetho, Iouis & Antiopae filiis, caudae indomiti equi alligata & per terram diu rapta, tandem in sui nominis fontem conuersa fingitur."), Beraldus *ad* 1.38 ("*Coerula cum rubuit Lernaeo sanguine Dirce.*] Dirce fons Boeotiae prope Thebas, Musis sacer."), and Valpy (*notae uariorum*) *ad* 1.38 ("*Dirce*] Fons Thebanus. vid. ad Hor. l. II. Od. 2."; the exact reference by Amar-Lemaire to Hor. *Carm.* 4.2.25 is no objection, since such corrections by the French editors are frequent). Unusually, Valpy's note here *adds* something to Veenhusen's edition, probably drawing from Barth *ad* 1.38 ("*Caerula cum.*] *Dircen* fontem Thebanum hinc notat Commentator Horatii, ad lib. II. Od. II.").

The quotations of Lactantius Placidus, too, illustrate the complexity of derivation in this tradition in an exemplary fashion: some are mediated through Veenhusen, some through Beraldus, with the consequence that elements suppressed by the former are maintained in Amar-Lemaire's edition through the latter, or *vice versa*.

Commenting on the Theban past

The numerous passages where Statius recalls the Theban past, and more specifically the generations before the Labdacidae,[15] offer a good illustration: on the one hand, appearing as an important feature of the poem, they are very frequently commented on; on the other hand, the presence in them of recurring elements[16] allows comparisons that help us define the commentators' strategies.

Here, too, the derivative character of this exegetical tradition is clearly perceptible;[17] but such passages strikingly illustrate, too, other tendencies frequently found in early (and not unknown in modern) commentaries. A transversal search for notes given on a recurring character or event reveals the high repetitiveness of some of these books, which give the same information again and again in slightly diverging terms.[18] When it comes to evoking the Theban past, Statius' text is frequently used, too, as a pretext for digressions that are not necessarily required for its understanding;[19] this is most clearly seen

[15] See Davis 1994, 464–8 for a survey of the manifold ways such reminders of the Theban past are inserted into the poem (and compare 469–71 for the Argive past).

[16] For instance the nine main references to Cadmus and the six to Semele listed by Davis 1994, 467.

[17] See e.g. *ad* 1.38 (n. 14) and 3.204–5 (n. 25). Derivation is indeed less frequent with mythological elements than with other issues, since they exert very little attraction on such influential commentators as Bernartius, Gronovius, and Barth (who explicitly refuses to engage well-known matters e.g. *ad* 4.575).

[18] For instance, Beraldus recalls the abduction of Europa *ad* 1.5, 1.181 (with a cross-reference), 7.191, 8.229, 9.334, and 11.212. This feature is more frequent in continuous commentaries than in sporadic ones. Any generalizing would, however, be hazardous: some larger commentaries are hardly repetitive in these matters, either by choice (Barth, explicitly e.g. *ad* 9.330, 9.401) or by necessity (Veenhusen, whose sources are themselves rarely repetitive and, with the exception of Lactantius Placidus, show little interest in mythology: see n. 17 for Bernartius, Gronovius, and Barth).

[19] Admittedly the allusiveness of the text (e.g. 1.230 *erroresque feros nemorum*, explained by Lactantius Placidus and in almost every edition, or 3.204–5 discussed below), as well as reading practices such as the sporadic consultation by someone who does not know the whole poem, sometimes help to justify the explanations. Sometimes, however, their practical usefulness for the reader is far from evident, and the impression given, rather, is that the commentator is trying to fill up his pages with whatever material he can find. On "centrifugal explanations", see Gibson 2002, 354–5 (about parallels in modern commentaries).

when the elements appearing in the notes do not find any correspondence in it, or even clearly contradict it.[20]

The final part of Aletes' speech illustrates another kind of problematic relationship between text and commentary. His list of the disasters that have struck Thebes ends with an allusion that all commentators identify with the story of Queen Dirce: 204–5 *uerso … sanguine fluxit / in subitos regina lacus*, "a queen, her blood transformed, suddenly flowed to form a lake (river, spring)". Is this as self-evident as their unanimity suggests? From the textual elements relevant for identifying the character, two, the queen and the river or spring,[21] are regularly cited by the commentators. But what about Dirce's blood? Lactantius Placidus mentions it.[22]

> IN SVBITOS REGINA LACVS. Dyrcen significat, quam Amphion & Zetus, Iouis & Antiopae filii, tauro vinxerunt, de cuius sanguine fons est natus, eius nomine decoratus.
>
> (Paris 1600 (Lactantius Placidus ed. Lindenbrog) *ad* 3.204)

> IN SVBITOS REGINA LACVS. He means Dirce, whom Amphion and Zethus, sons of Jove and Antiope, tied to a bull, and from whose blood a spring was born that is adorned with her name.

Almost all the others, however, content themselves with naming the queen or recalling her metamorphosis in more general terms.[23] Barth, the only one who provides further details, first recalls and illustrates with an example a different version, where the queen is thrown into the waters; he then concludes that the version with the metamorphosis derives from the latter, and draws our attention to its rarity.[24]

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[20] Milan 1731–2 and Paris 1825–30 *ad* 1.38 comment on *Queen* Dirce, though this passage is concerned only with the *spring* (compare Milan 1782–8 *ad* 9.778, which uses a Theban soldier named Amphion as a pretext to recall and interpret allegorically the story of Zethus' brother). Paris 1829–32 (Achaintre) *ad* 3.204 ("*Que les dieux changèrent tout à coup en fontaine*. Il s'agit de Dircé, reine de Thèbes, qui, par l'ordre d'Amphion et de Zethus, fut traînée de la manière dont il est dit.") forgets that Dirce's torment is actually described neither there, nor anywhere else in Statius' epic.

[21] *lacus* for a running water or a spring: *TLL* 7.2, 862.40 cites e.g. Castalia in *Theb.* 8.175, the Tiber in Verg. *A.* 8.66 (Serv. auct. *abutitur lacus nomine ut mox*, 8.74), and Hippocrene in Tib. 3.1.16 [Lygdamus] and Prop. 3.3.32.

[22] Cf. Myth. Vat. 1.1.96 Zorzetti-Berlioz = 1.1.97 Bode, 2.92.

[23] Apart from Barth mentioned below, the only exception is Stephens (London 1648), 70: "*Dirce* drag'd by *Amphion* and *Zetus*, had her blood changed into a fountaine of her name."

[24] Note that Barth, who comments on ποταμόν in Paus. 9.25.3, does not discuss Statius' *lacus* (cf. n. 21).

> *Verso qvod sangvine fluxit.*] *Dirce* ab hostibus tauro alligata, & in fontem submersa est, ab ea postea cognominatum. Apollodorus lib. III. [3.5.5] οἱ δὲ ἀναγνωρισάμενοι τὴν μητέρα, τὸν μὲν Λύκον κτείνουσι. τὴν δε Δίρκην θριξὶ δήσαντει ἐκ ταύρου θανοῦσαν ῥίπτουσιν εἰς κρήνην, τὴν ἀπ' ἐκείνηι καλουμένην Δίρκην. Transfiguratam ergo dicunt in fontem, cui cognominis etiam amnis erat, memorante Pausania. Lutatius hoc loco. Alioqvin Transfigurationis hujus rara mentio in Mythologis.
>
> (Zwickau 1664 (Barth) *ad* 3.204)

> *Verso qvod sangvine fluxit.*] Dirce was tied by her enemies to a bull and thrown into a spring that was afterwards named after her. Apollodorus [3.5.5] "Having recognized their mother, they slew Lycus; then they tied Dirce by the hair to a bull, and threw her dead body into the spring that is called Dirce after her". They say, therefore, that she was turned into a spring, and she also had, according to Pausanias, a river bearing her name. Lutatius says this here. Elsewhere this metamorphosis is rarely mentioned in the mythographers.

Does the fact that almost all ancient commentators keep silent about Dirce's blood, and mention instead a less specific version, bear witness to the unease caused by Statius' text?[25] This hypothesis, suggested by Barth's final remark, might be confirmed, at first sight, by the translation of Valvasone, who says that the spring was formed from Dirce's *tears*.[26] Actually, since these tears do not belong to any "vulgate", Valvasone's translation cannot be described as an attempt to normalize the text. Nevertheless, a survey of the extant literary accounts[27] suggests that the mention of *blood* in Statius' version might be problematic indeed: most of them simply do not show any interest in the relationship between the queen and the spring, and focus instead on Dirce's torment;[28] and the few that explicitly make the connection give versions that are only partly identical, since they speak not of her blood, but of her bones or corpse being thrown into an existing spring,

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[25] The influence of Bernartius of course also partly accounts for the absence of any mention of Dirce's blood in later commentaries. Leiden 1671 and Milan 1782–8 reprint his note with due mention of the source, and Paris 1825–30 ("excursus") improperly appropriates it after adding a cross-reference; Beraldus' note, itself reprinted by Amar-Lemaire (infratextual note) without indication of the source, might also stem from it.

[26] Venice 1570 (Valvasone-Targa), stance 59] "Quando ligata a un fiero bue selvaggio / Si fè piangendo una fontana d'acque."

[27] For metamorphosis into springs, see Forbes Irving 1990, 299–307.

[28] See e.g. Sen. *Oed.* 609–11, *Phoen.* 19–21.

or mention the apparition of the spring from her body.[29] Admittedly the apparent isolation of Statius' version, though it may help to explain the vagueness of the later exegetical tradition, is no proof of its actual originality. The allusiveness of his text is itself ambivalent. Must we infer from it that the poet is here dealing with a well-known element (as it would seem from Lactantius Placidus' mention of Dirce's blood without further comment)?[30] We should at least allow for the contrary interpretation that he is here alluding to a variant that was not self-evident for his reader.

The *name* Dirce, pointedly omitted in Aletes' account, is, quite remarkably, never used in Statius' works to designate the queen, but always the spring. Two passages, however, deserve closer examination, since, like our metamorphosis, they establish some relationship between blood and water, though in a different form. In 1.38, Statius describes the staining of the spring with the blood of the victims, as a prefiguration of the massacre that the conflict will provoke.

caerula cum rubuit Lernaeo sanguine Dirce
et Thetis arentes adsuetum stringere ripas
horruit ingenti uenientem Ismenon aceruo.

(Stat. *Theb.* 1.38–40)

when blue Dirce became red with Lernaean blood and Thetis shuddered at the sight of Ismenos, once used to skirting parched banks, now flowing down with a huge heap of corpses.

In 4.374, the staining of the spring is mentioned again, but this time in a series of portents terrifying the Thebans as the war draws nearer.

nam Tyrios sudare lares et sanguine Dircen
inriguam fetusque nouos iterumque locutam
Sphinga petris, cui non et scire licentia passim
et uidisse fuit?

(Stat. *Theb.* 4.374–7)

29 Respectively: (bones) E. *Ant.* fr. 42.80–5 JvL = 223.80–5 Kn; (corpse) Apollod. 3.5.5 and Nic. Dam. 90F7 Jacoby; (new spring) Hyg. *Fab.* 7.5. This diversity may have favoured the proleptic use of the name Dirce to designate the spring before the queen's life and death (e.g. E. fr. 819.4 Kn = *Phrixos* 2.4 JvL; *Ph.* 932; Sen. *Oed.* 714; Nonn. *D.* 4.356, 5.4).

30 Compare e.g. Vian 1963, 184, who interprets in this way the incidental designation of Creon as a descendant of the Spartoi in A. *Th.* 474.

For to whom, throughout the country, was it not granted to know and to have seen the Tyrian Lares dripping sweat, Dirce drenched with blood, monstruous births, and the Sphinx speaking once more on her rock?

The recurrence of the same line-ending *sanguine Dirce(n)* in both passages should not go unnoticed; it is all the more striking since the (otherwise unattested) association of these two words already appeared in Seneca's *Oedipus*, where we find exactly the same verbal sequence.

bis Cadmeum niue discussa
  tremuisse nemus,
bis turbatam sanguine Dircen.

(Sen. *Oed.* 176–7, ed. Zwierlein)

twice the grove of Cadmus has shuddered and its snow has fallen, twice Dirce has been stained with blood.

The obvious contextual similiarities (catalogue mentioning the portentous colouring of the spring) leave no doubt that Statius had these lines in mind when writing *Theb.* 4.374. In 1.38, on the other hand, the combination of literal identity and contextual alteration (staining of the spring-water with the soldiers' blood as a symbol for the conflict)[31] with regard to Seneca suggests that Statius is engaging in some intertextual play; it would be excessively reductive, however, to describe in univocal terms the creative process at work here, since, besides its relationship with the *Oedipus*, *Theb.* 1.38–40 is almost a translation of the menaces proferred against Thebes by Euripides' Heracles.[32]

ἅπαντ' Ἰσμηνὸν ἐμπλήσω φόνου,
Δίρκης τε νᾶμα λευκόν αἱμαχθήσεται.

(E. *HF* 572–3)

I shall fill the whole Ismenos with corpses, and the clear water of Dirce will be reddened with blood.

In the light of what precedes, the highly allusive wording at the end of Aletes' speech appears to be one more element in Statius' playful ex-

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[31] Cf. Stat. *Theb.* 3.211 (Aletes' speech), 11.81. See e.g. Spaltenstein *ad* Sil. 6.107 for running streams mixed up with blood, and *ad* Sil. 1.48 for obstructing corpses (cf. n. 32). Micozzi 1995, 424–6 discusses the specific links of *Theb.* 1.38 with Verg. *A.* 8.62–4 and Luc. 2.219–20.

[32] Not mentioned by Heuvel nor Caviglia *ad loc.* Compare Tydeus' menaces against Eteocles in 2.460–1 *o quanta Cithaeron funera sanguineusque uadis, Ismene, rotabis!*

ploration of the different traditions about Dirce. Using as a background a *topos* that had already been used in a Theban context, and evoking between the queen's blood and the spring a kind of link that was possibly not unknown (hence Lactantius Placidus' note) but had not been exploited in current versions, the poet implicitly provides in 3.204 a precise aetiology for a portent that was historically attested and that Seneca had already "re-mythologized" before him.[33]

As far as the relationship between text and exegetical material is concerned, this example is not very different, in its actual dynamics, from those briefly mentioned at the beginning of this section. Whenever the commentators content themselves with mechanically borrowing from earlier books, continually repeat the same information about recurring characters or events, give external information that drives the reader away from the text, or, as is the case here, normalize it by omitting its most problematic elements, they tend to show the same habit of sticking to given explanations, of isolating *one* ever-valid exegetical truth, and consequently of failing to observe, and refusing to address, the specificity of the text commented on.[34]

Telling silences

It comes as no surprise that the early commentators show no great concern, either, for the overall functions or meanings of Statius' references to the Theban past, but tend rather to comment on each instance separately. It would be most unfair to blame them for not addressing issues that have been of interest only to recent scholarship. Even here, though, it is hermeneutically of some help to confront our views with their practice.

The list of portents frightening the Thebans as the war approaches (4.369–405, see in particular 4.374–7 quoted above) includes, among

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[33] The mention of this portent in the context of Theban myth points toward a late literary creation (Vian 1963, 104–6; *RE* 5, 1169.24 Bethe).

[34] This attitude has far-reaching consequences. In speaking of "A spring in Boeotia, into which Dirce was said to have been changed", *OLD* s.v. *Dirce* 2 is potentially misleading, since it gives the metamorphosis greater-seeming authority than it deserves. None of the four passages cited in the *OLD* entry clearly refers to the metamorphosis: the portent described in *Theb.* 4.374 discussed above can hardly be said to back up this idea, and the other three passages (Ov. *Met.* 2.239; Sen. *Oed.* 42; Stat. *Silv.* 1.4.21) are little more than bare references to the spring of Dirce. I am grateful to Michael Dewar for drawing my attention to this point.

other phenomena, an element that explicitly evokes the return of a specific past event: the Sphinx is said to have spoken again (4.375–6). The idea that the past is inextricably linked to the present pervades the whole *Thebaid*;[35] Rumour here just goes a step further, by having the present appear, more literally than in other passages, as a *re-enactment* of the past.[36] Now, in our list, is this idea necessarily restricted to the Sphinx? Considering the preceding section, one could hardly contend that here the reddening of the spring Dirce (4.374–5) recalls the metamorphosis of the queen's blood. But what about 4.375 *fetusque nouos?* If this at first sight simply designates the traditional portent of monstruous births,[37] we should notice that Aletes uses the same *iunctura* for the Spartoi.[38]

> Sidonius ex quo
> hospes in Aonios iecit sata ferrea sulcos,
> unde noui fetus et formidata colonis
> arua suis.
>
> (Stat. *Theb.* 3.180–3)

> since the Sidonian guest threw iron seeds into Aonian furrows, whence came monstruous births and fields feared by their settlers.

Could we not understand, then, that in 4.374–7 the frightened Thebans believe not only that the Sphinx has returned, but that the Spartoi, too, have grown again from their furrows?[39] This alternative, non-

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35 See in general Kabsch 1968, 143–60; Davis 1994, 464–75; on the theoretical and narratological implications in Menoeceus' suicide, Heinrich 1999. As is explicitly evoked by the narrator as an hypothesis in 1.180–5 (contrast, at Argos, Adrastus' tragically ironic denial in 1.688–90), the past weighs heavily on the present and makes its effects felt in it (cf. Kabsch 1968, 150; Davis 1994, 468). The *praeteritio* opening the poem already strongly suggests this idea, as Heinrich 1999, 168–71 rightly observes: why, otherwise, would the narrator consider taking Cadmus and the succeeding generations as his starting-point? At the same time, I would argue that, while listing events that will be excluded from the diegetical framework, this *praeteritio* also *prepares* the reader for the numerous references to the Theban past that will follow.

36 Compare Diana's return in 9.680–2, where the trembling of nature is both a convention of epiphany, and a specific reaction as it remembers her cruel deeds against the Niobides (Dewar *ad loc.*, clearly preferable to the scholion quoted by Barth, which stated that hills and forest recognize the goddess because she was used to hunting there).

37 For *fetus* in this context, see Liv. 28.27.16 (*insuetos*), Sen. *Ira* 1.15.2 (*portentosos*), Luc. 1.591 (*nefandos*), and *TLL* 6, 637.72.

38 Compare Luc. 4.599, where *fetus* is applied to Antaeus.

39 In a different context, compare the play between general phenomenon and specific event in 9.680–2 (n. 36).

exclusive, reading[40] might well be implied in Lactantius Placidus' note, as we read it in Lindenbrog's edition.[41]

> FOETVSQ. NOVOS. quos in Thebas Cadmus inuexit.
> (Paris 1600 (Lactantius Placidus ed. Lindenbrog) *ad* 4.375)

> FOETVSQ. NOVOS. Cadmus brought them to Thebes.

It is interesting to compare, a little later, the supernatural manifestations in Cadmus' field.

> cum uana in proelia surgunt
> terrigenae; fugit incepto tremibundus ab aruo
> agricola insanique domum rediere iuuenci.
> (Stat. *Theb.* 4.440–2)

> when the earth-born men rise for phantom battles; the trembling farmer flees from the field he has begun and the oxen, driven mad, have come back home.

The reaction of the frightened farmers and animals obviously expresses the awe inspired by the location of a past disaster,[42] and more specifically by a battlefield haunted by the ghosts of fallen soldiers.[43] At the same time, these apparitions rising from the earth precisely where Cadmus had sown the dragon's teeth obviously recall the autochthonous birth of the Spartoi.[44] The process realized by this conflation of motifs, characteristic of Statius' fondness for exploring every potential link between the various materials found in his sources,[45] may be described as being very similar to the metamorphosis of Queen Dirce's blood, with the difference that here the phe-

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[40] Further speculations about what Statius meant would entail addressing the relative chronology of redaction: I would consider it *a priori* rather improbable that he could have written 4.375 *without* thinking of the Spartoi, if 3.182 had already been composed.

[41] Modern editors here reorganize the lemmata to make Lactantius Placidus' explanation apply to 4.374 *Tyrios ... lares* (see Jahnke 1898 and, more radically, Sweeney 1997, *ad loc.*), which seems more natural indeed.

[42] Compare 2.519–23 for the Sphinx.

[43] See Ogden 2001, 12–6 (in general); Stramaglia 1999, 341–8 (about the various kinds of such apparitions).

[44] Ogden 2001, 14–5 also contrasts the necromantic raising of the Spartoi in 4.556–60, where it happens on Cadmus' field, and in Sen. *Oed.* 586–8, where it does not.

[45] As here, location often characteristically illustrates this tendency: apart from the necromancy (see n. 44), Statius has the Theban ambush (2.519–23) happen precisely where the Sphinx used to kill her victims (on both episodes see Kabsch 146–9), and Diana's return (9.680–2, cf. n. 36) at the same place as her slaying of the Niobides.

nomenon that Statius strives to "ground" mythologically is not specifically Theban.

It is tempting, however, to go further and put the fear inspired by Cadmus' field in connection with the idea of the returning past: in other words, to explain it as motivated not only by the ghostly apparitions themselves, but also, more specifically, by the possibility that the Spartoi might *truly* be born again. Closer examination of this hypothesis helps us both to establish more precisely the nature of thematic associations in Statius' poem, and to observe how readers react to them. In the *praeteritio* of the proemium, the narrator uses the image of terrified farmers to recall Cadmus' sowing of the dragon's teeth (1.7–8 *trepidum … Martis operti / agricolam infandis condentem proelia sulcis*, "the farmer, trembling at the idea of hidden war,[46] sowing battles in accursed furrows"). In 3.182–3 (*formidata colonis / arua suis*, cited above), this image recurs in Aletes' words, where it describes instead a reaction to the raising of the Spartoi. The text is here ambiguous: the farmers mentioned may be Cadmus' companions, but they might just as easily belong to later generations. This would support the interpretation hypothesized above: if 3.182–3 describes the reaction of people *remembering* the raising of the Spartoi, the *tremibundus … agricola* of 4.440–2 might also fear that the prodigious births may occur again. But things are not that simple. In 4.440–2, the mention of frightened farmers does not necessarily imply an association with Cadmus' sowing: it is usual with supernatural manifestations, just as the reaction of animals that is depicted in the same lines.[47] In 3.182–3, if Statius' text really contains the seeds of an idea more fully developed in 4.440–2, we must admit that it maintains an indeterminacy that favours other readings as well. Interestingly, this uncertainty (which farmers are meant?) led some interpreters to limit the reference to Cadmus himself: Jortin, explicitly considering the possible connection with 4.440–2 but preferring 1.7–8 as an explana-

[46] See Heuvel *ad loc.* for the construction. Note that here Cadmus' reaction takes place while he is sowing (contrast Ov. *Met.* 3.115, *after* the rising of the Spartoi); Heuvel interprets it as a prolepsis.

[47] See in general e.g. 2.52–4 (gate of the Underworld); Luc. 1.571 (various portents), 1.582–3; Philostr. *Her.* 8.16 (haunted battlefields, discussed in Stramaglia 1999, 435). For the specific influence of Luc. 7.861–3, see n. 52.

tory parallel, emended in 3.182–3 *colonis* ... *suis* to *colono* ... *suo*,[48] a reading that is even found in the text of some manuscripts.[49]

The blurring provoked by Statius' unceasing variations on similar motifs, and the consequent hermeneutical difficulties, are further illustrated in the lines that precede the description of supernatural manifestations in Cadmus' field. There the designation of the setting of the necromancy as *fetus ager Cadmo* ("the field sown by Cadmus") is immediately followed by an ambiguous utterance: 4.435–8 *durus qui uomere primo / post consanguineas acies sulcosque nocentes / ausus humum uersare et mollia sanguine prata / eruit.* Is this to be read as a relative clause qualifying Cadmus, who is imagined as having reopened the earth *after* the killing of the Spartoi?[50] Some have understood it, instead, as a new sentence designating another character.[51] In

[48] "Credo v 182. legendum *formidata* colono *Arva* suo. *Colono suo*, id est Cadmo, qui vocatur *trepidus Agricola* Theb. I. 7. *trepidum si Martis operti / Agricolam infandis condentem praelia sulcis.* Ovid. Metam. III. 115. *Territus hoste novo Cadmus capere arma parabat.* Sic Ovidius de Jasone (de quo idem genus fabulae narratur) Epist. XII. 17. *Semina jecisset; totidem sensisset & hostes: / Ut caderet cultu cultor ab ipse suo.* Ibid. V. 45. *Semina praeterea populos genitura juberis / Spargere devota lata per arva manu, / Qui peterent secum natis tua corpora telis. / Illa est agricolae messis iniqua suo.* Eo modo hic potest esse *formidata colono / Arva suo.* Est locus in Statii Theb. IV. 438. qui videri potest favere receptae lectioni *colonis suis.* Statius ibi loquitur de campis, unde oriebantur hi armati homines, & ubi mutua caede cadebant. Eorum umbrae, dicit, adhuc per campum currunt, & pugnam exercent, terrentque agricolam ibi laborantem. Bene hanc narrat historiam. *Ingentes infelix terra tumultus / Lucis adhuc medio, solaque in nocte per umbras / Exspirat, nigri cum vana in praelia surgunt / Terrigenae, fugit incepto tremebundus ab arvo / Agricola, insanique domum rediere juvenci. Agricola* hic singulari numero ponitur pro plurali. Sed non poenitet tamen conjecturae." I quote Jortin from *Miscellaneae Observationes in Auctores Veteres et Recentiores* (vol. 1, t. 2, September-October 1732), edited in Amsterdam by Burmann and d'Orville, who reprint Jortin's *Miscellaneous Observations upon Authors, Ancient and Modern*, London 1731–2, with additions by various authors. Here the additional note in the Dutch edition reads: "*Colono* favet gl. *mei. ipsi Cadmo, qui fuit tunc Colonus*".

[49] I have found *colono* ... *suo* in the manuscripts Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana Reg.lat. 1375 (f.35v–36r, as a correction from *colonis* ... *suis*, with the interlinear gloss *cadmo*) and Pal.lat. 1692 (f.29r, in the main text).

[50] See Garrod, Klotz-Klinnert, Traglia-Aricò, and Hill, as well as Lactantius Placidus' note (ed. Sweeney): "QVI VOMERE PRIMO durus, quisquis primo hunc arauit, id est Cadmus satis draconis dentibus" (cf. however Barth's note quoted n. 51).

[51] For the movement that would result from this punctuation, compare Prop. 3.20.3 *durus, qui lucro potuit mutare puellam!* This solution, already known to Valvasone (Venice 1570, st. 122) "Cultor duro, & di grand' ardir ripieno / Chiunque dopo lui [= after Cadmus] uenne secondo"), was defended by Barth, who, interestingly, considered the final part of Lactantius Placidus' note (see n. 50) as a later adjunction: *ad*

this case, here too we would be dealing with later generations re-opening the earth long after Cadmus' time: that of the *tremibundus … agricola* mentioned a few lines later, and maybe of Aletes' *colonis* as well.[52]

All this should serve as a safeguard against overinterpretation. What the various and contrasting attitudes of the exegetical tradition most clearly show, when confronted with the portents in Thebes and with Cadmus' field, is that the complex interweaving that characterizes Statius' poem cannot be schematically reduced to any rigid system. The problem of determining to what extent our readings may legitimately invoke the criterion of internal coherence is indeed a serious one with the *Thebaid*, where similar situations, images, and expressions tend to repeat themselves continually, but in different contexts, with different effects, and on different scales.[53] The resulting proliferation of echoes urges the reader to search for intratextual links, but at the same time makes any mechanical use of such parallels particularly hazardous.[54]

With Statian scholarship flourishing for some time now, we are perhaps inclined to think that turning to early commentaries will prove less and less necessary; however, this is only true if we use them with the limited scope of gathering information on issues or passages that have not been thoroughly studied in recent years. Their contribution is often valuable, even though it is now widely ignored by classicists. The few examples discussed above have made clear, I hope, that the

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4.434 "*Immane patent.*] […] Ait autem durum eum qvi conseverit agrum, qvem sciebat antea homines produxisse. Sententia est perspicua; qvam tamen non est assecutus, qvi Lutatio illa verba perperam omninò adjecit: *Id est Cadmus, satis Draconis dentibus*"; *ad* 4.435 "*Foetus ager Cadmo.*] […] Distinctio autem his vocibus submittenda: *Cadmo. Durus, &c.*". The punctuation of the text in Zwickau 1664 is irrelevant, since this edition only reprints the text of Gronovius (Amsterdam 1653), which often conflicts with Barth's notes. This reading, preferred by Müller, Mozley, and Lesueur, also explains the translations by Melville and Schönberger.

52 With this reading, 4.435–8 would be particularly relevant as an echo of Luc. 7.861–3 *nec terram quisquam mouisset arator, / Romani bustum populi, fugerentque coloni / umbrarum campos* (compare, too, Luc. 7.854 *nondum siccos hoc sanguine campos*). These lines also seem to have provided the basic inspiration for the frightened settlers of 3.182–3, and above all for the fleeing farmers of 4.440–2. See Micozzi 1999, 362–70 for a detailed discussion of the fundamental importance of Lucan, especially 7.847–72, as an intertext for these passages, and more generally of the motif of accursed earth in both poets.

53 See Micozzi 2002.

54 For a general discussion on reading intratextually, see Sharrock 2000.

tradition they form is in itself of some interest, both for the historiography of the field and for a critical consideration of exegetical practices, past and present.

Appendix: Cited early editions and commentaries

Rome 1470 (without title page): *editio princeps* containing the *Thebaid* with commentary to book 1 only, and the *Achilleid* with commentary.

Venice 1570 (Valvasone-Targa): *La Thebaide di Statio ridotta dal Sig. Erasmo di Valvasone in ottava rima* (notes by P. Targa).

Antwerp 1595 (Bernartius): *P. Statii Papinii Opera quae extant Joh. Bernartius ad libros veteres recensuit et scholiis illustravit.*

Paris 1600 (Lactantius Placidus ed. Lindenbrog): *Papinii Surculi* [*sic*] *Statii Opera quae extant. Placidi Lactantii in Thebaida et Achilleida commentarius. Ex bibliotheca Fr. Pithoei I.C. collatis MSS, veteribusque exemplaribus, recensuit, partim nunc primum edidit, Fr. Tiliobroga. Adiectis variarum lectionum observationibus, indiceque uberrimo.*

Pont-à-Mousson 1601 (Barclay): *In Publ. Statii Papinii Thebaidis libros IIII commentarii et in totidem sequentes notae, cum argumentis, authore Joanne Barclaio.*

Paris 1620 (Cruceus): *Emerici Crucei in I<-XII> Statii Thebaidos <in lib. I-V Achilleidos, in lib. I-V Sylvarum> notae.*

London 1648 (Stephens): *An Essay upon Statius, or, the first five books of Publ. Papinius Statius his Thebais done into English verse by T.S. with the poetick history illustrated* (transl. by T. Stephens).

Amsterdam 1653 (Gronovius): *P. Papinii Statii Opera ex recensione et cum notis I. Frederici Gronovii.*

Paris 1658 (Marolles-Guyet-Peyrarède): *P. Statii Papinii Thebaidos libri duodecim cum notis Francisci Guieti Andini, Io. Peyraredi nob. Aquitani, & aliorum, opera ac studio Michaelis de Marrolles, abbatis de Villeloin* (transl. by M. de Marolles).

Zwickau 1664 (Barth): *Publii Papinii Statii quae exstant. Caspar Barthius recensuit, & animadversionibus locupletissimis illustravit: inspersis ad Thebaida & Achilleida commentariis ac glossis Veterum, hactenus bonam partem ineditis, & Scholiaste Lutatio multis locis corruptis castigato. Ad auctoritatem & opem manuscriptorum exemplarium, praecipue unius alteriusque admirandae bonitatis* (posthumously ed. by C. Daum).

Leiden 1671 (Veenhusen): *Publii Papinii Statii Sylvarum lib. V, Thebaidos lib. XII, Achilleidos lib. II, notis selectissimis in Sylvarum libros Domitii, Morelli, Bernartii, Gevartii, Crucei, Barthii, Joh. Frid. Gronovii Diatribe, in Thebaidos praeterea Placidi Lactantii, Bernartii, &c., quibus in Achilleidos accedunt Maturantii, Britannici, accuratissime illustrati a Johanne Veenhusen.*

Paris 1685 (Beraldus): *Publii Papinii Statii Opera interpretatione et notis illustravit Claudius Beraldus, jussu christianissimi Regis, ad usum serenissimi Delphini.*

Milan 1731–2 (Bentivoglio-Argelati): *Corpus omnium veterum poetarum Latinorum cum eorumdem Italica versione, tomus primus: continet P. P. Statii Thebaidos sex libros priores* [etc.] (transl. by Selvaggio Porpora (C. Bentivoglio), ed. by F. Argelati).

Oxford 1767 (Lewis): *The Thebaid of Statius translated into English verse, with notes and observations and a dissertation upon the whole by way of preface* (transl. by W.L. Lewis).

Milan 1782–8: *P. Papinii Statii Thebais cum appositis Italico carmine interpretationibus ac noctis* [*sic*].

Paris 1783 (Cormiliolle): *La Thébaide de Stace, traduction nouvelle par M. l'abbé Cormiliolle*.

Venice 1786: *Publii Papinii Statii Opera ex recensione Johannis Veenhusen cum notis selectioribus*.

London 1824 (Valpy): *P. Papinii Statii Opera omnia ex editione Bipontina cum notis et interpretatione in usum Delphini variis lectionibus notis variorum recensu editionum et codicum et indice locupletissimo accurate recensita* (ed. by A.J. Valpy).

Paris 1825–30 (Amar-Lemaire): *Thebais P. Papinii Statii cum varietate lectionum et selectis variorum adnotationibuis quibus suas addiderunt J.A. Amar et N.E. Lemaire*.

Paris 1829–32 (Rinn-Achaintre-Boutteville): *Œuvres complètes de Stace* (vol. 1 (*Silv.* 1–4) ed. by L.-W. Rinn, vol. 2 (*Silv.* 5, *Theb.* 1–4) by N.-L. Achaintre, vol. 3–4 (*Theb.* 5–12, *Ach.*) by M.-L. Boutteville).

Frankfurt 1833 (Weber): *Corpus poetarum latinorum uno volumine absolutum cum selecta varietate lectionis et explicatione brevissima edidit Guilielmus Ernestus Weber*.

Paris 1835–6 (Dubner): *Publii Papinii Statii Opera quae exstant cum notis aliorum et suis edidit Fr. Dubner.*

Paris 1842 (Nisard): Stace, Martial, Manilius, Lucilius Junior, Rutilius, Gratius Faliscus, Némésianus et Calpurnius : œuvres complètes avec la traduction en français (ed. by D. Nisard).

9. THE PERILS OF PROPHECY: STATIUS' AMPHIARAUS AND HIS LITERARY ANTECEDENTS

Elaine Fantham

When Cicero looked back under Caesar's domination to his unhappy role in the civil war, he compared himself, as a man of foresight and an actual Augur, to Amphiaraus, quoting from an unnamed tragedy: like Amphiaraus he had offered himself, *prudens et sciens / ad pestem ante oculos positam*.[1] In Statius' *Thebaid*, emulation of the *Aeneid*, and in particular of the events leading up to the outbreak of war in *Aeneid* 7, contribute to the greater complexity of Amphiaraus' character and actions, but Statius maintains his traditional persona as one of the two virtuous leaders in the gruesome tale of *Seven Against Thebes*. Although Adrastus too is honourable, in Statius as in the Greek tradition,[2] the myth itself required that he should give way to the pressure of his son in law and the other more power-hungry leaders. And Adrastus does not only fall short of heroism by showing his weakness as a leader, but also because it is his role to survive. He cannot compare with Amphiaraus in tragic grandeur, since he does not have to face the knowledge of his own certain death: this ordeal is peculiar to

[1] The quotation is perhaps from Accius' *Eriphyle*, cf. *trag.* 145 (2nd ed. p. 250, 3rd ed. p. 296). Amphiaraus is both devout and honest, and a loyal ally of Adrastus throughout the Greek tradition: compare Aeschylus *Th.* 609–12, in which even Eteocles speaks of him as self-controlled, just, good, pious, and a great prophet: σώφρων δίκαιος ἀγαθὸς εὐσεβὴς ἀνήρ / μέγας προφήτης. The same passage contrasts his associates as "unholy and loud-mouthed", and foretells his death by engulfment.

[2] For the early Greek tradition on Amphiaraus see Gantz 1993, II.506–15, and the detailed analysis of evolution from saga to surviving texts of Bener 1945. Bener shows how Amphiaraus is associated with the power of prophecy and death by engulfment, and his character is favourably assessed from *Odyssey* 15.245–7 through Pindar *O.* 6.12, (cf. *N.* 9.13–4, for his receipt of evil omens against the expedition) to Aeschylus *Th.* 571–2 and Euripides *Ph.* 171 and 1109, also *Supp.* 157. This version of his prophecy, developed to include his foreknowledge of his own death (cf. Bener 1945, 35), persists in the Hellenistic tradition, cf. Apollod. *Bibl.* 3.6.2–4 and 3.6.8; Diod. 4.65; Hyginus *Fabulae* 73 (based on Euripides *Alcmaeon*; Bener, 28). But even Bener's diligence can only reconstruct a Greek narrative of the omen taking at Argos from Statius' own text (Bener, 22–3). I am most grateful to Valéry Berlincourt for making Bener's work available to me.

Amphiaraus, first identified in *Theb.* 1.42 (*laurigeri subitos an uatis hiatus?*) by the extraordinary mode of his death, but also by his prophetic status. It is his foreknowledge that makes him a tragic hero, and the manner in which he acquires and tries to control this knowledge which Statius emphasizes in the scenes I wish to discuss.

Aeschylus had played down the myth of Eriphyle's treachery in the *Seven Against Thebes*,[3] and Statius will do the same. Although Amphiaraus is brought into the epic action through the history of the fatal necklace, coveted by the *coniunx perituri uatis* (2.299, cf. 299–305), Statius deliberately subordinates the motif of domestic treachery so as to give full importance to Amphiaraus' moment of truth at the taking of the auspices at Argos. I would like to consider first three aspects of this episode in relation to the epic tradition of his Greek and Roman predecessors: the forms of divination practised by Melampus and Amphiaraus; the nature of the portent sent to them by the gods; and the reaction of both prophet and poet to human foreknowledge of evil destiny.[4]

Five forms of divination were known at Rome, shared between the *disciplina etrusca* as practised by the haruspices and the *auspicia* of Roman augurs. As Cicero lists them in *De Diuinatione* 2.49, the haruspices conducted three kinds of divination: extispicy, by examining the entrails of a sacrificial victim, especially the liver: healthy entrails would convey divine blessing on an enterprise such as joining battle on the coming day, and diseased or distorted entrails warn against it; to this he adds the study of *fulgura* and of *ostenta*. The other two forms of divination were the function of the augurs, and concerned the behaviour of birds, either the *tripudium* of caged fowls, or the formal taking of auspices to observe the flight and song of prescribed birds, which were classified as either *alites praepetes*, whose flight signified divine consent or refusal by its position and direction, or *oscines*, indicating divine will through their song (from *os* + *canere*). Before a commander left Rome on campaign or joined battle, his augurs took

[3] On the myth as modified by Aeschylus' pro-Theban orientation see Hutchinson 1985, 132–3: Aeschylus does not include the tale of Eriphyle's betrayal reported in *Odyssey* 15.245–7, which comes to dominate the tale of Amphiaraus' death and Alcmaeon's revenge in Sophocles' *Eriphyle* and Euripides' *Alcmaeon*.

[4] Strangely there do not seem to have been any discussions since the lucid and quite detailed analysis of Vessey 1973, 153–9. Besides his pages I have found Burck 1979, 300–51 and Snijders' commentary most useful.

the auspices from a consecrated position by designating a portion of the sky in which to observe omens. (Whatever went unnoticed or occurred outside the specified area was not significant.) Birds flying from the left (right in Greece) were favourable, from the right (left in Greece) unfavourable; and with these *omina impetratiua*, even vultures might be an excellent omen, provided they appeared in the right part of the sky.

The gods might also send omens unasked, *omina oblatiua*, such as a thunderbolt from a clear sky, or some other celestial portent such as a lunar eclipse, or prodigious births, which would require expiation by sacrifices and acts of ritual supplication.[5] The fullest epic presentation of such prophetic material before Statius is found in the first book of Lucan, himself an augur, and much admired by Statius. But Lucan is outlining the preliminaries of an undeclared civil war, so there can be no question of any man taking formal auspices. His narrative begins with a mass of terrestrial and celestial portents, many of them echoing Virgil's first *Georgic* and prose historians who cited portents of divine displeasure either at the outbreak of war or before Caesar's death.[6] The *haruspex* Arruns, called to expiate them, orders supplications and a sacrifice, which is subordinated to a horrendous description of the victims' distorted entrails,[7] the nearest precedent to the first phase of Amphiaraus and Melampus' divination at Argos, as described by Statius. But since Lucan's civil war begins with flight, rather than a military campaign, there is no occasion for the taking of auspices at Rome: instead he offers the astronomical prophecy of Nigidius Figulus and the raving of a clairvoyant woman.

When Tydeus returns victorious from the ambush which Eteocles has set in violation of his embassy, and Jupiter has unleashed Mars, king Adrastus is long troubled by doubt whether he should authorize war (*daret armis iura*, 3.444) or rein in his people's anger (*an frena teneret / irarum*, 445–6). At last he resolves to proceed by "setting in action the minds of seers and divine rituals prophetic of truth" (*uatum mentes ac prouida ueri / sacra mouere deum*, 3.450–1). Amphiaraus is

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[5] I refer here and below to the authority of Linderski 1986, 2146–296 in *ANRW* 2.16.3.

[6] Rambaud 1985, 375–88 traces many of the portents not in Roman sources to those described in Dio Cassius after Pharsalus.

[7] This is probably influenced by Manto's description of the vicious entrails in Seneca's Oedipus.

charged with the auspices, but Statius has added his grandfather Melampus, to work along with him. Why do we need Melampus? Not for the ritual itself, but perhaps to add different kinds of authority to the coming scene. What is gained is firstly a link with the previous generation of Argonauts, secondly authentication of what Amphiaraus will see and describe (both men are presented as genuinely inspired by Apollo); lastly, seen in terms of dramatic dialogue, Amphiaraus needs someone to whom he can speak freely while he is trying to keep the secret of his own and his allies' terrible destiny. First, the prophets test divine consent for action in the entrails of sacrificial sheep (there has been no report of the sacrifice) and find blotchy hearts that prohibit action (*negant*, 458). Notwithstanding, they decide to continue by taking the auspices and "seek omens from the open sky".

Wearing fillets and olive branches they climb Perseus' hill at sunrise, and Amphiaraus prays to Jupiter, citing with the ritual *nam tu* the god's inspiration of birds with foreknowledge, so as to convey to men from heaven the causes of events. But it seems that Statius wants to combine both Greek and Roman elements in his person: as Greek prophet he is inspired by Apollo, but as Augur, he is the *consiliarius* of Jupiter.[8] Not content with addressing Jupiter (471–4, 481–96), he exalts divination by bird-omens above a catalogue of seven alternative sources of oracular inspiration, listed in allusive Hellenistic fashion.[9]

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8 Cf. Linderski 1986, 2206, citing Cic. *Leg*. 3.43. The augur must understand *Ioui Optimo maximo se consiliarium atque administrum datum ut sibi eos quos in auspicio esse iusserit, caelique partes sibi esse traditas e quibus saepe opem rei publicae ferre possit.*

9 The seven oracular sources seem to be chosen for diversity of method and geography. Besides the three Apolline oracles discussed in the next note, Amphiaraus includes the Libyan Ammon and shrine of Apis (*Niliacum pecus*) at Alexandria, the age old oracle of Zeus in the oak-groves of Dodona, and an unparalleled nocturnal cult of Pan from Pisa. Commentators offer little help, but the *accola Pisae* (3.479) reappears as *incola Pisae* among the Arcadian followers of Amphiaraus in 4.238, suggesting that this last example may have been chosen as a local cult of the speaker himself. Statius' selection prompts the question whether he was consciously including the oldest oracles, such as might have predated Troy, or combining ancient and modern. Parke 1967, 67 points out that in Herodotus 1.47 the sixth-century Croesus consults Delphi, Dodona, Branchidae and the oracle of Ammon at Siwa. Branchidae was suppressed by the Persians and revived by Alexander, and other oracles rose and fell; thus Lane Fox 1985, part 1, chapter 5 reports evidence for oracular activity during the first and second centuries of our era in six of the cult places listed by Statius (the Apis shrine is mentioned by Pausanias and Dio Chrysostom), but nothing associated with Pan or Arcadia.

Thus although he is and considers himself as priest of Apollo, Amphiaraus dismisses as inferior Apollo's oracles at Delphi itself (*Cirrha*, 474; cf. 455), at Didyma (here evoked antonomastically by the name of the local hero and founder of Branchidae, Branchus son of Apollo) and in Lycia.[10] Following the formal *legis dictio* he gives Jupiter clear instructions:

> nos Argolicae primordia pugnae
> uenturumque sinas caelo praenosse laborem.
> Si datur et duris sedet haec sententia Parcis
> soluere Echionias Lernaea cuspide portas,
> signa feras laeuusque tones; tunc omnis in astris
> consonet arcana uolucris bona murmura lingua.
> Si prohibes, hic necte moras dextrisque profundum
> alitibus praetexe diem.
>
> (Stat. *Theb.* 3.489–96)

> Grant us to know the beginnings of Argive battle and the hardships ahead. If the Parcae are resolved to break down the gates of Thebes with the spears of Lerna, give us as a signal thunder on the left, *but* if you deny this, impose delays now and frame the light of day with birds on the right.

His address seems traditional enough, although the recognizable Virgilian phrases are enhanced with learned Hellenistic figures and periphrases such as *nectere moras* and *praetexere diem* (495).[11] But Statius supplements the Olympians of Amphiaraus' direct speech, even Jupiter, by adding to his narrative *plura ignotaque numina*, mysterious unknown deities, and invoking the dark mystery of the universe. This is Flavian epic and Roman ritual cannot escape the fashionable infection of magic.

In her paper at the Groningen meeting Annette Baertsch cited Luc. 6. 425–30 (listing Delos, Delphi and Dodona, besides non-oracular divination) as Statius' model for these exclusions. He offers a similar negative listing at *Theb*. 4. 410–4.

[10] The *Lyciae ... sortes* of 3.477 deliberately recall Aeneas' famous allusion at *A*. 4.346 echoed parodically by Dido at 377 *nunc augur Apollo, / nunc Lyciae sortes*. The shrine of Lycian Apollo at Patara was the only non-Greek oracle also consulted by the Greeks.

[11] Note the Virgilian *pernicibus alis* (471; = *A*. 4.180), *si datur et sedet* (491; cf. *A*. 7.368), etc. But epithets like *Lycaonius* and *Niliacus* (once in Ovid; common in Lucan) are post-Augustan, and may derive from lost Hellenistic poetry.

As each prophet surveys his region of the fading stars,[12] it is Melampus who reports that no favourable bird (*auguriis melior*) is flying or uttering benevolent omens (*placabile planxerit omen*), neither Apollo's raven, nor Jupiter's eagle, nor Athena's owl (502–8).[13] Instead vultures, hawks and carrion birds (*dirae uolucres*, *striges* and the *bubo*)[14] occupy the heavens. Worse, they are tearing their faces and driving away the favourable winds with their moaning and plucking their feathery breasts. Amphiaraus (*ille sub haec*) admits that despite his expertise acquired on the expedition of the Argo, he has never seen such evil omens. But this is only the prologue. As with Arruns' grim forecast in Luc. 1.635 *sed uenient maiora metu*, reinforced by the poet's own *sed maiora premunt* (1.674), Statius has worse to come: Melampus' *sed maiora parantur*[15] introduces the portent that symbolizes and predicts the disastrous outcome of the expedition against Thebes.

This set-piece echoes a long epic tradition. Amphiaraus calls Melampus' attention to the new phenomenon: an uncountable number of swans have adopted a formation in the high heaven, which must signify Thebes (*has rere in imagine Thebas*) since they are maintaining a fixed circle like a city rampart in the sky (524–30). Now comes a stronger band, seven fierce eagles, which the augur sees as the Argive princes (533). They assail the throng of swans, but he now sees an unexpected reversal (*cernis inexperto rorantes sanguine uentos?*, 536) and construes it as divine anger overthrowing the victors. Without offering any physical explanation of the birds' destruction Amphiaraus systematically enumerates what Statius' readers can identify as the special mode of death of each of the seven leaders—though not in chronological order.

… Quae saeua repente
uictores agitat leto Iouis ira sinistri?
Hic excelsa petens subita face solus inarsit
summisitque animos, illum uestigia adortum
maiorum uolucrum tenerae deponitis alae.

[12] Snijders compares with *partiti sidera* a later reference to Amphiaraus' augury, *Thiodamanta quicum ipse arcana deorum / partiri et uisas uni sociare solebat / Amphiaraus aues* (8.279–80).

[13] Snijders notes Statius' echo in 502 of Luc. 7.363 *compressum limite caeli.*

[14] *Strix* and *bubo* are combined in Sen. *Med.* 733, Luc. 6.689. Snijders adds that Pliny *Nat.* 10.38 calls the *bubo maxime abominatus publicis auspiciis.*

[15] So too 9.865 *forsan maiora supersunt / ingressis.*

> Hic hosti implicitus pariter ruit, hunc fuga retro
> uoluit agens sociae linquentem fata cateruae.
> Hic nimbo glomeratus obit, hic praepete uiua
> pascitur inmoriens; spargit caua nubila sanguis.
> Quid furtim inlacrimas? Illum, uenerande Melampu,
> qui cadit, agnosco.
>
> (Stat. *Theb.* 3.537–47)

> But what savage anger of hostile Jupiter suddenly harries the victors with death? This one seeks the lofty heights alone and suddenly catches fire, and surrenders his spirit. Another, attempting the path of greater birds, his wings suddenly let fall. This one falls equally entangled with his foe, another flight drives away abandoning the fate of his followers. This one perishes swept up by a thunder cloud, this eagle feeds on a living bird as it dies, and the blood spatters the hollow clouds. Why are you stealthily weeping, reverend Melampus? I recognize the one who is sinking to earth.

(This is the moment when Amphiaraus foresees his own death, but its undeniable pathos is enhanced by its literary model: *hunc ego fluminea deformis truncus harena / qui iacet agnosco* (Luc. 1.685–6). His words echo the prophetic vision of Pompey's death which brings the omens of Lucan's first book to their climax. While the seer himself affirms the identity of swans and eagles, he leaves to the intuition of his associate Melampus and the literary memory of his readers the application of the *dira signa* of Jupiter's anger to the deaths awaiting each individual.[16])

Terrified at this *certa imago*, and bitterly regretting that they have intruded on the assemblies (*concilia*) of birds and thrust their minds upon a sky that already had spoken through the entrails to forbid them, the prophets now paradoxically loathe the gods who have answered their sollicitations: *auditique odere deos* (551). But let us suspend their anguish while we trace the traditions behind Statius' omen.

First of all such omens is the μέγα σῆμα reported by Odysseus in *Iliad* 2.299–329, when a serpent kills eight nestlings in their nest and their helpless mother as well, but Jupiter (after the event) turns the serpent to stone. Odysseus recalls Calchas' interpretation, which we

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[16] Commentators explained *dira* as *Dei ira.* The reference to *Iouis ira sinistri* (538) identifies this portent as a dread omen like the portents of *A.* 4.453 and the *triste augurium* of 5.7 explained by Servius Auctus as *dirae, dira signa.* Linderski 1986, 2235 compares Festus 316–7 L *quinque genera signorum obseruant augures publici; ex caelo, ex auibus, ex tripudiis, ex quadrupedibus, ex diris.*

know to be correct at least as far as it goes; the siege of Troy has already lasted nine years, but he promises victory in the tenth. He does not, however, decode the petrifaction of the serpent. Homer's Calchas is honest and genuinely inspired here as in *Iliad* 1, and Statius' language shows he is recalling not just Homer, but also Ovid's retelling of the portent and its interpretation in *Met.* 12.13–9. There Calchas is *ueri prouidus augur* (cf. *Theb.* 3.450–1 *prouida ueri / sacra mouere deum*), and correctly infers the ten years of siege, before the moment when the serpent is turned into stone.[17] Similarly in *Odyssey* 15, Zeus sends a δεξιὸς ὄρνις for Telemachus, an eagle who successfully carries off a goose, and flies off to the right. This Helen convincingly interprets as Odysseus slaying the suitors.[18]

Remembering his Homer, Virgil offers two omens at the beginning and end of his epic, as well as the lying tale of Sinon incorporating the supposed dishonesty of Calchas. But the two omens have differing status. When the disguised Venus urges Aeneas (*A.* 1.393–400) to look up to the sky and see the twelve swans pursued by an eagle, which come safely to land, she guarantees the safe landing of his comrades, which we experience soon after. Each of these portents not only occurs, but is reported by the prophet figure, an element required in Roman augury.[19] But the most complex omen in the *Aeneid* is one that takes place, but is both sent with misleading intent and falsely interpreted—something which seems to have met little theological curiosity from commentators. In *A.* 12.245–56 Juturna furthers Juno's designs by sending the Italians an omen *alto signum caelo*: the sacred bird (eagle?) harries a crowd of shore birds, then glides to the water and grasps a swan in its talons; but then in an unexpected reversal the

[17] In *Div.* 2.62–3 Cicero translates and discusses the Homeric passage but criticizes the *coniectura* of Calchas for interpreting only the number of years of the siege and leaving the petrifaction of the serpent unexplained. This may be a traditional criticism since Ovid apparently "corrects" Homer by omitting the weak element in Calchas' divination.

[18] Juhnke 1972, 83–6, *die Vogelschau*, offers no precedent from Homer for the actual omen, but misguidedly seeks a model for Capaneus' abuse of Amphiaraus in the dispute over the omen of *Iliad* 12.200–10 between Polydamas and Hector: in my judgment the difference of moral stature and motive between the warrior rejecting the omen in the two poems makes it most unlikely that Statius had *Iliad* 12.210–55 in mind.

[19] See Linderski 1986, 2206–7: just as the report by the augur's assistant was a binding omen even if the assistant lied, so whatever the augur himself reported was binding, even if it had not occurred.

routed seabirds turn around and force the eagle to drop the swan, as they drive it away into the clouds.[20] The augur Tolumnius does not so much report the omen as offer his *coniectura*, reading the forecast that the Italians desire, in which the eagle is Aeneas the greedy pirate, while they themselves are the successful seabirds.[21] The swan is not identified. It is the formal features of this false omen which Statius has adapted for his divinely sent and correctly interpreted portent.

And he was not alone. Silius too has an augural episode before the battle of Ticinum in Book 4, in which two Carthaginian augurs, Liger and Bogus, give opposed readings of a bird omen. If Silius composed his brief scene before Statius, Statius has nothing to learn from him. The omen combines two traditional motifs. First a hawk swoops from the high point of the sun's course onto a flock of doves, and harries them until Jove's eagle comes from the east and drives the hawk away; then it swoops down towards young Scipio and squawks three times, touching his helmet before soaring back to the stars. This is both Roman, in its evocation of Livy on Tarquinius Priscus, and epic, going back through Virgil to Homer. Liger interprets both components correctly, reading the sixteen doves as the sixteen years that Hannibal would lay waste to Italy, but warning that Jupiter's bird denied him the possibility of victory, confirming instead young Scipio's future as conqueror of Libya. Bogus first attempts a positive reading, in which the mauled doves are the children of Venus' son Aeneas, then, like Tolumnius, hurls his spear against the enemy: although it falls short, it kills its man and inaugurates the battle of Ticinum.

Now we are ready to pass from Statius' omens to the poet's interpretative editorializing of these events. In his prayer to Jupiter before making his observation Amphiaraus speculates about the source of the birds' clairvoyance, and like Virgil's speculation about the inspiration of the bee community in *Georgics* 4 and Lucan's theorizing about the

[20] Grassman-Fischer 1966, 96–9 notes that this portent is formed by analogy with Venus' swan portent in Book 1; Virgil also echoes with the mistaken response of the Rutuli, deceived by Juno's non-prophetic portent, the misreading by the Trojans of the portent of Laocoon's awful death in Book 2.

[21] *A.* 12.257–60 *augurium Rutuli clamore salutant / expediuntque manus primusque Tolumnius augur "hoc erat hoc, uotis," inquit, "quod saepe petiui".* He does not narrate, but interprets what he has seen (261–4): *o miseri, quos improbus aduena bello / territat, inualidas ut auis, et litora uestra / ui populat. petet ille fugam penitusque profundo uela dabit.*

inspiration given to or through Apollo at Delphi,[22] he offers a choice of hypotheses. The oddity is that he addresses them to Jupiter himself:

> … superae seu conditor aulae
> sic dedit effusum chaos in noua semina texens,
> seu quia mutatae nostraque ab origine uersis
> corporibus subiere notos, seu purior axis
> amotumque nefas et rarum insistere terris
> uera docent: tibi, summe sator terraeque deumque,
> scire licet: nos Argolicae primordia pugnae
> uenturumque sinas caelo praenosse laborem.
> (Stat. *Theb.* 3.483–90)

> whether the creator of the heavenly court made it so when he wove chaos into new seeds, or because they have been transformed from human bodies, or because their circumstances, flying in a purer atmosphere, with evil more remote, and seldom alighting on earth, all teach them truth, thou, god, knowest.[23] Grant us to know the openings of the Argive conflict and foresee from heaven the coming hardships.[24]

These Ovidian aitiologies[25] are doubly awkward, in a context where unquestioning faith is required, and in view of the addressee; since Jupiter is addressed at 481 and 488, one must ask what other being was this *superae conditor aulae* (483)?

After the dreadful omens have been set out, Statius raises a more fundamental question, comparable to Lucan's protests at the portents threatening Rome at the opening of his second book: there Lucan had reviewed the alternatives of a providential *parens* (Nature or Jupiter) controlling an immutable fate (2.7–11) or random Epicurean materialism (12–3), before begging for man to be spared the pain of fore-

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[22] *G.* 4.149–50, 219–27; Luc. 5.86–95. As Snijders points out, Lucan represents Apollo of Delphi in 93–6 *forsan … totius pars magna Iouis Cirrhaea per antra / exit* as a medium for a part of Jupiter's divine inspiration.

[23] Compare the views given by Cicero to the believing Quintus at *Div.*1.120 *eademque efficit in auibus diuina mens, ut tum huc tum illuc uolent alites, tum in hac tum in illac parte se occultent, tum a dextra tum a sinistra parte canant oscine*s, and Cicero's own sceptical reaction, *Div.* 2.80 *quae est igitur natura quae uolucris passim huc et illuc uagantes efficiat ut significent aliquid et tum uetant agere, tum iubeant aut cantu aut uolatu? Cur alite aliis a laeua aliis a dextra datum est auibus ut ratum auspicium facere possint?*

[24] But this last phrase also permits interpretation as "the hardships coming from heaven".

[25] Both the notion of a god creating life from the first elements of chaos, and the purity of the birds guaranteed by their remoteness from earth echo motifs in Ovid *Met.* 1.21 and 1.75–81.

knowledge: *sit subitum quodcumque paras: sit caeca futuri / mens hominum fati; liceat sperare timenti* (2.14–5).

Just so in the aftermath of the portents Statius protests, not at the gods for giving knowledge, but at men's insatiable desires to know the future.[26] Again the poet's question receives alternative answers, though the idea of foreknowledge as a spontaneous gift of the gods is quickly passed over for the alternative of human insatiability, impatient of resting in peace when it has been won (*et parto non umquam stare quieti*, 554). It is this human greed for knowledge and thirst for action which has driven men to consult entrails and the language of birds, the motions of stars and moon and evil witchcraft.[27] Echoing Ovid's account of human decline, Statius argues that primitive men, whether of the golden age or children of rocks and trees, were content to clear the forests and farm the soil. For them, it was evil to know the future: *quid crastina uolueret aetas / scire nefas homini.*[28] It is us, pitiable modern men, who probe the gods, giving rise to fear and anger, crime and treachery and no restraint on men's prayers.

And yet it is not human desire to know the future which causes the troubles of Amphiaraus. The Argives and many of their leaders do not want the unhappy foreknowledge of divine intent, but a favourable divine authorization for their own desires. As interpreter of the gods[29] Amphiaraus has performed the first half of his task by reading the signs correctly. But he cannot complete the task by conveying the divine message both truly and convincingly to his Argive audience, because they are fated to disbelieve and override it; he will be torn between the human urge to persuade and his recognition that they cannot be persuaded. The peace-loving prophet casts off his robes and fillets and hides in his house, silent, like Virgil's Calchas, but for twelve, not ten whole days (*superum clausus negat acta fateri ... bis senos premit*

26 Cf. *fati praenoscere cursus* in Luc. 6.423.

27 Desire for knowledge can be presumptuous even when it is only for the causes of present events: cf. Seneca's preface to *Nat.* 3, where he sees himself as uprooting causes/origins (*eruere causas*), and Lucan's presentation of Caesar's curiosity about the sources of the Nile so long hidden (10.190, cf. 235). We should not take Acoreus' statement that it is right for him to tell as validating Caesar's greed for knowledge.

28 For *scire nefas* compare Hor. *Carm.* 1.11.3 and Luc. 1.127.

29 On augurs as interpreters of the gods cf. Cic. *Div.* 1.12, 1.116, 2.63. But Latin *interpres* is not parallel to Greek *prophetes* (introduced by Pindar, and applied to Amphiaraus himself at Aeschylus *Th.* 611), since, according to Ernout-Meillet 1959, I.571–2, the primary meaning of *interpres* is secular, of an agent or intermediary in business.

ora dies, 572, 574; cf. *A*. 2.126–7 *bis quinos silet ille dies tectusque recusat / prodere uoce sua* ..., etc.).[30] And from now on the most prominent model for Statius' action will be the *Aeneid*, and the misguided folly not of the Trojans ignoring Laocoon's warning, but of the Italian rush to war in Book 7. When the Argives, driven by Mars, pour from the countryside and ancient towns and abandon their homes, stripping the mouldering arms and armour from the walls and preparing for war (*Theb*. 3.568–91), they exceed the impatience of Virgil's Italians, as Statius anticipates here the final Latin preparations for war, which occur only after the symbolic declaration, when Juno breaks open the gates in *Aeneid* 7.623–40. The keynote of the Argive warlust, like that of the Italians in *Aeneid* 7, is *fremere*, first applied actively to the thought of Theban war-preparations that besets Amphiaraus (*absentes fremunt sub pectore Thebae*, 569), then to the provocative commands of Jupiter (*et iam suprema Tonantis / iussa fremunt*, 576), from which this concept of roaring or shouting for war is transferred to the newly armed Argive people, to be repeated three times in 25 lines: *bella animis, bella ore fremunt* (593), *turba ducum uulgique frementis* (606), and *laetum fremit, adsensuque furentem / implet Achaea manus* (618–9).[31] At the moment of climax Statius also transfers his own motif of intrusion from the prophets' sense of intrusion upon divine plans (*inrumpere*, 549, 634) to the physical onrush of the citizens who burst into Argos to beset the king demanding war: *inrupere Argos, maestique ad limina regis / bella animis, bella ore fremunt, it clamor ad auras* (592–3).

But it is Amphiaraus, not king Adrastus, who suffers the brunt of abuse and insult. Although the function of Latinus as *mora belli* in *Aeneid* 7 is shared between Statius' king and prophet, it is Amphiaraus whose doors are beset by Capaneus, the *contemptor superum*,[32] urging

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[30] I am grateful to Helen Lovatt for drawing to my attention the parallel with Maeon, himself a *uates* (2.692, 3.82), doomed not to be believed by his fellows, and able to resist the tyrannical Eteocles only with the silence of suicide (3.83–4). (See Maguire 1995 on political suicide in the Flavian epicists).

[31] See Traina s.v. *fremere* in *Enciclopedia Virgiliana* 2.460–1, and note *A*. 7.389 (Amata); 460 (the enraged Turnus); 590 (the churning reefs in the sea-simile); 638 (the war horse champing at the bit); and 787 (the Chimaera depicted on Turnus' helmet). As Snijders notes, *fremere* also marks the Latins' rejection of the truce at 12.371.

[32] Capaneus here replaces Tydeus in the earlier Greek tradition: no doubt Statius feels Tydeus has already established a strong personality in his epic, and is seeking to add some characterization to Capaneus before his hubristic death in Book 10. Here

on the mob, as Turnus incites the crowd at *A.* 7.583–4: *ilicet infandum cuncti contra omina bellum / contra fata deum ... poscunt.*[33] Statius' Capaneus is an interesting synthesis, combining traits of Aeschylus' Capaneus with features derived from his Parthenopaeus and Tydeus, and from Virgil's Mezentius. Without waiting to hear the prophet, Capaneus rejects all prophecy with contempt, boasting that he trusts only in his manhood and his sword (*uirtus mihi numen et ensis / quem teneo*, 615–6).[34] In contrast with Aeschylus' Amphiaraus, who is given the unique speech reported by the messenger's otherwise visual narrative,[35] the prophet in Statius' epic does not advance moral prohibitions against the act of invasion, but the ruin threatened by divine omens (*ingentis portenta ruinae*, 640). Like Aeschylus' prophet he is able to rebut any accusations of cowardice,[36] since he already knows how he will die, and it will not be in human combat (*alio mihi debita fato / summa dies, uetitumque dari mortalibus armis*, 623–4). Yet he is reluctant to reveal coming woes to the crowd and calls it *nefas* to warn Capaneus in advance. Given belief in predestination, it is illogical for the prophet to see his own warnings as in any way able to thwart destiny. Since Capaneus is fated to die on the walls of Thebes, scaling the siege ladder and challenging Jupiter, he not only must not, but cannot, heed the warning. It is not so much *nefas* to warn him, as it is impossible.

Capaneus combines the warlust of Turnus (with *ingenti Martis amore* Snijders compares *A.* 7.550 *insani Mauortis amore*) with the blasphemy of Mezentius (*A.* 7.648) and to some extent the crude jeering of Virgil's Drances. But, as Snijders notes, the characterization is traditional, going back to Aeschylus *Th.* 420–7 and Euripides *Ph.* 1171–2, *Supp.* 496–7. Capaneus' brutal inhumanity is stressed by Statius' comparison with a subhuman Centaur (cf. *A.* 7.674–6) or giant. Juhnke 1972, 83–6 rightly sees the influence of Virgil's *Aeneid* 7 and 11 on this confrontation, but is again misled by the context; although it is Turnus who wants to attack and Drances who protests, the morality of Amphiaraus excludes any parallel between his response to Capaneus and Drances' attack on Turnus: if anything, it is Amphiaraus who must defend himself against accusations of hypocrisy and cowardice.

[33] Statius' urgent epanalepsis of *bella* in 593–4 copies Virgil's repetition of *contra* in 7.583–4.

[34] Cf. Parthenopaeus' deification of his weapon in Aeschylus *Th.* 529–30, and Mezentius' in *A.* 10.773–4 *dextra mihi deus et telum quem missile libro / nunc adsint.* Capaneus' contempt for omens and for Apollo in 611–4 is only slightly less blasphemous than the outspoken defiance of Zeus by Aeschylus' Capaneus (423–6).

[35] Cf. Aeschylus *Th.* 580–9, where Amphiaraus denounces to Polynices the attack on his fatherland and people, and foretells his own death and burial in Theban soil.

[36] In Aeschylus it is Tydeus who accuses Amphiaraus of ἀψυχία (377–94) when he refuses to authorize crossing the Ismenos.

So it falls to Amphiaraus to take on further roles: he becomes the true priest and prophet Laocoon (*A.* 2.42 *o miseri, quae tanta insania ciues?*) and the poet Lucan (1.8 *quis furor, o ciues, quae tanta licentia ferri?*). From his opening protest at the people's folly and indifference to the peace of their families and community (*quo, miseri, fatis superisque obstantibus / arma, quo rapitis?*) he turns back to the omens. If they have no respect for omens and are ready to override them, why did they force him to trespass on the councils of the gods (*superum inrumpere coetus*, 634) when he could have been spared the painful foreknowledge of their fate and his own? He calls the universe and the speech of birds and Apollo himself to witness that he has never before been shown such portents of mass destruction. His appeal to the crowd to throw down their weapons (*proicite arma manu*, 643) recalls another voice of wisdom from the *Aeneid*, and the cry of Anchises to the unborn soul of Caesar (*proice tela manu, sanguis meus*, *A.* 6.835) and is equally doomed—that is, fated—to frustration. It is only the realization that he cannot avert predestined fate that silences Amphiaraus: he knows that they will go to war, and his last word is *ibimus* (647).[37] This is both a pointed echo and a calculated modulation of the last words of Aeschylus' prophet on the banks of the Ismenus: μαχώμεθ', "let us fight, then!"(*Th.* 589). Amphiaraus uses the future indicative because he knows that they will launch this doomed expedition. Capaneus has no new arguments[38] except to blaspheme against fate, substituting human will-power for divine: in battle he will be the prophet (*illic augur ego*) who guarantees victory. His abuse is backed by the frenzied shouting of the crowd, and Amphiaraus, like Latinus overwhelmed by his people's warlust, withdraws.

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[37] Was Statius remembering Homer at the same time that he "corrected" Aeschylus? As Hutchinson points out (*ad Th.* 589), Sarpedon's last word before he enters the battle in which he will die is ἴομεν (*Iliad* 12.328). I thank Piet Schrijvers for reminding me of the important Horatian precedents for both the beginning and end of this speech: in the civil war *Epod.* 7.1–2 *quo, quo scelesti ruitis? aut cur dexteris / aptantur enses conditi* (with the explanation in the *acerba fata* of Rome), and in *Carm.* 2.17.8–10 to Maecenas, sharing his resolve to face (the astronomical predictions of) death: *ille dies utramque / ducet ruinam. non ego perfidum / dixi sacramentum. ibimus, ibimus, utcumque praecedes.*

[38] But note how the abuse of Capaneus at 648 *tuus o furor auguret uni / ista tibi* takes up Amphiaraus' words in 628 *unique tibi tacet noster Apollo*: Snijders compares Turnus' retort to Drances, *A.* 11.399 *capiti cane talia, demens / Dardanio rebusque tuis.*

As Virgil precedes Latinus' collapse and withdrawal[39] with the simile of the wild waves breaking on the reefs to assail the lone rock, so Statius marks the end of this encounter with a formal simile comparing the passions of the crowd to a swollen mountain torrent breaking through the dykes and sweeping away fields, flocks and men until it meets a hill high enough to obstruct it (3.671–6): but there is no equivalent to the hill: only night, which adjourns the conflict between the leaders.[40] After all Amphiaraus is only one of several princes, not the king of Argos: there remains the decision of Adrastus, and for this Statius applies the quieter personal pressure of his daughter Argia. The final verdict on Amphiaraus comes when he is shown among the parade of princes at 4.187–95, and here too Statius incorporates the myth of domestic treachery into the larger fate of cities. As the prophet knew his doom, but Atropos herself forced arms upon him, so his wicked wife knows the golden chain will be the death of him (*hoc aurum uati fata exitiale monebant / Argolico; scit et ipsa—nefas*, 4.192–3) and gladly exchanges his life for plundered adornment.

I referred earlier to the role played by Amphiaraus and by king Latinus in Virgil as *mora belli.* This idiom does not occur in Statius' narrative here, but both the use of *mora belli* to describe a person and the literary device of deferral, constructing incidents and digressions to delay desired action have recently been brought to the front in interpreting Latin epic. It is Seneca the Elder who reports in his second *Suasoria* that in his youth the declaimer Porcius Latro urged on the Spartans at Thermopylae with the words *si nihil aliud, erimus certe belli mora* (*Suas.* 2.19) and was imitated in epic verse by a pupil who coined the words *belli mora concidit Hector.* He reports that Virgil in turn was inspired by this to write *quicquid ad aduersae cessatum est moenia Troiae / Hectoris Aeneaeque manu uictoria Graium / haesit*

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[39] Cf. *A.* 7.583–5 *ilicet infandum cuncti contra omina bellum / contra fata deum peruerso numine poscunt. / certatim regis circumstant tecta Latini*; the simile of 586–90 (note *fremunt*, 590) introducing the moment when folly can no longer be resisted (591–4); and Juno's intervention at 620 to eliminate Latinus' last attempt to delay the act of war.

[40] The Virgilian paradox that Latinus does not match the resistance of the rock, his analogue in the simile, is eliminated by Statius, who uses the onset of night to rescue the prophet. But Statius has not forgotten Virgil's simile of rock and stormy sea. As Helen Lovatt pointed out to me, the raging sea and resistant rock are postponed and recalled with variations at the opening of Book 4 (24–31).

(11.288–30).[41] Old Seneca could have added Virgil's passing description of Abas in 10.428 as *pugnae nodusque moramque.* The conceit was adapted by Lucan, for whom Crassus served merely as *medius belli mora* (1.100) postponing to his death the inevitable conflict of Pompey and Caesar: Indeed Lucan's Caesar repeatedly chafes at the bit, from his impatience with the *moras … belli* at the moment of crossing the Rubicon (to invade his homeland Italy as Polynices crossed the Ismenus to invade Thebes) to other delays before battle at 5.410, 7.240 and 7.377.

Ten years ago Jamie Masters advanced a powerful argument that Lucan himself, as he wrote, was fighting his own reluctance to progress with his aggressive poem of civil war. How far does this apply to Statius, and to the role of Amphiaraus? We saw that Adrastus himself wondered whether he should rein in his people's anger: when Adrastus consults Jupiter, he invites him, if he is forbidding the expedition, to demonstrate it with contrary omens (*necte moras, dextrisque profundum / alitibus praetexe diem*, 495–6). It is of course Capaneus who voices impatience with Amphiaraus (*quid uota uirum meliora moraris?*, 651; cf. *proferre diem*, 666), while the prophet insists that it is the god who stands in their way: *deus ecce furentibus obstat.* It is his knowledge of fate that ends his attempts at resistance, whereas Adrastus, trying in vain to sooth his daughter into accepting delay, speaks only from a human point of view: *neu sint dispendia iustae / dura morae* (3.718–9). The *mora* is over and Book 4 opens by replacing delay with military action: *tandem miseris data copia belli* (4.4). But with Statius delay is not an expression of personal aversion from his war narrative: it is simply a compositional device to prolong and elaborate the complexities of his narrative.

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[41] Seneca actually misquotes Virgil, who wrote *quidquid apud durae cessatum est.* The statement occurs in the speech of Diomedes reported to the Latin council by Venulus, and according to Seneca Messala criticized Virgil for completing the line with *et in decimum uestigia rettulit annum.*

10. THE *SILVAE* AND EPIC

Bruce Gibson

Introduction

This paper explores the relationship between the *Silvae* and epic poetry.[1] The fact that most of the *Silvae* are written in hexameters should indicate the value of considering how the *Silvae* draw on epic, even when there are differences in tone and content.[2] Various scholars have pointed to epic influence in the *Silvae*: Gabriel Laguna has discussed such features as similes and athletic games,[3] and Donka Markus has treated Statius' self-presentation as an epic poet within the *Silvae* through reference to his recitations of epic,[4] while Ombretta Pederzani has argued, in her reading of *Silvae* 1.2, that we can speak of a "private" kind of epic in the *Silvae*.[5] Carole Newlands has pointed to occasions where the *Silvae* might be said to be in dialogue with Statius' epic work,[6] while I have previously attempted to show how in *Silv.* 5.4, the short poem on insomnia, epic allusions are fused with a first person voice far removed from the conventionally distant voice of epic narration.[7] And Harm-Jan van Dam, in this volume, shows the importance of multiple imitation of epic models. This paper will attempt to consider further possible approaches to the *Silvae* and epic. I shall begin by considering the generic status of the *Silvae*, particularly how this may be affected by Statius' treatment of Domitian, before considering types of overlap between the *Silvae* and epic poetry. Of

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[1] I am very grateful to the editors, and would like to thank Kathleen Coleman, Harm-Jan van Dam, Frederick Jones, and Stephen Heyworth for their valuable comments on earlier drafts of this paper. For quotations from the *Silvae* (and the numeration of the prefaces) I have used E. Courtney's Oxford Classical Text (Oxford, 1990). The translations are my own.

[2] For the hexameter in the *Silvae*, and antecedents in Greek praise poetry, see Hardie 1983, 85–91.

[3] Laguna 1998, 45. On Statius' games in the *Thebaid*, see Lovatt 2001.

[4] Markus 2000, 163–8.

[5] Pederzani 1993.

[6] See e.g. Newlands 2002, 26–7, 147–9, 200–1, 203–4, 211–26, 253–4.

[7] Gibson 1996, 460–1.

course, I do not wish to imply that epic is the only genre relevant to the *Silvae*; instead, the aim is to show that epic elements are a significant and continuing feature of the poems, existing in counterpoint to Statius' better-known statements about the lower generic status of the *Silvae*.

In particular, I wish to consider how content can be shaped by genre, and perhaps how genre too can be shaped (or modified) by content. For though metre has a large part to play in ancient concepts of genre, it is worth recollecting that content must surely contribute to generic status as well.[8] That presumably would be the implication of a passage like Prop. 3.3.1–24, where the poet imagines himself on the point of writing an epic on the Roman and Italian past before Apollo tells him to have nothing to do with epic (3.3.15–6), *quis te / carminis heroi tangere iussit opus?*, "who told you to get involved in the task of heroic song?" Even more important is the opening of Virgil, *Ecl.* 6, also modelled on the opening of the *Aetia* of Callimachus (Call. *Aet.* fr. 1 Pf.).[9] Here, however, the refusal to write epic takes place in practice on the level not of form (Virgil is after all writing hexameters in the *Eclogues*), but of content. After Virgil's account of Apollo's warning, *cum canerem reges et proelia, Cynthius aurem / uellit et admonuit*, "When I was about to sing of kings and battles, Cynthian Apollo tweaked my ear and warned me …" (*Ecl.* 6.3–4), the resulting learned poem on cosmological and mythological subjects is still in the metre of epic, the hexameter. But when Virgil asks the Sicilian Muses associated with bucolic in *Ecl.* 4.1 for *paulo maiora*, "things a little greater", the fourth *Eclogue*, a poem worthy of a consul (*Ecl.* 4.3), could certainly be said to include material fairly close to *reges et proelia*. Indeed, it may be the case that, when the *form* of the hexameter is combined with moments of epic *content*, we are even more conscious of affiliations with epic in non-epic texts.

The tendency to regard the *Silvae* as a lesser kind of writing is partly generated from Statius' prefaces. Thus in Book 1 Statius asks why he is troubling with the *Silvae* when he has the *Thebaid* to con-

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8 See e.g. Fantuzzi 2000 on Theocritus, and Hinds 1992 on Ovid's *Fasti*.

9 Space precludes detailed examination of these passages: on Callimachus in Roman literature, see Wimmel 1960; Clausen 1964; Hutchinson 1988, 277–354; Heyworth 1994; Cameron 1995, 454–83; Nauta in this volume. On Callimachus and Statius, see Thomas 1983, 103–5 and Newlands 1991 on *Silv.* 3.1; see also Myers 2000, 135–7; Newlands 2002, 54, 140–2, 214–6.

sider (1.*ep*.5–7), while at 4.*ep*.29–30 he concedes the frivolous nature of the *Silvae*: *exerceri autem ioco non licet?*, "is one not allowed to practise for fun?" However, even passages where Statius seems most modest may hint at something else. Thus the comparison with the *Thebaid* is followed by an acknowledgement that great poets wrote minor works such as the *Culex* and the *Batrachomachia* (1.*ep*.7–8). And although such comparisons seem to set the *Silvae* firmly in their place, they also establish the *Silvae* as equal to minor works at the time ascribed to Virgil and Homer.[10] The implication follows that the *Thebaid* is on a par with other epics. David Bright has moreover noted that "the *Batrachomachia* and the *Culex* are miniature and parodic uses of the epic form",[11] so that the comparison is not between full blown epics and works of an entirely different character, but between epics and smaller scale versions of epic. But even this schematisation is open to more nuanced consideration.

In the preface to the second book of the *Silvae* Statius discusses his reasons for eschewing the hexameter in *Silv.* 2.7, the hendecasyllables honouring the dead poet Lucan's birthday:

> Cludit uolumen genethliacon Lucani, quod Polla Argentaria, rarissima uxorum, cum hunc diem forte consuleremus, imputari sibi uoluit. Ego non potui maiorem tanti auctoris habere reuerentiam quam quod laudes eius dicturus hexametros meos timui.
>
> (Stat. *Silv.* 2.*ep*.23–6)

> The volume is rounded off by the birthday poem in honour of Lucan, which Polla Argentaria, rarest of wives, wanted to be imputed to her influence, when by chance we were considering this day.[12] I could not have had greater reverence for so great an author than that when I was about to speak his praises I feared my own hexameters.

The second sentence is typically taken as homage towards Lucan: Statius refrains from using the hexameter out of respect.[13] However, it is worth considering the Latin more closely: *quam quod laudes eius dic-*

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[10] Perhaps compare Mart. 4.14 (see Hutchinson 1993, 23), where Martial asks the epic poet Silius Italicus to be tolerant of his own lesser works: *sic forsan tener ausus est Catullus / magno mittere Passerem Maroni* (4.14.13–4).

[11] Bright 1980, 19. The point might be made that generic parody must contain elements of the genre targeted, in order to remain recognisable.

[12] For the difficulties of *consuleremus*, see van Dam 1984, 61.

[13] See e.g. Hardie 1983, 85 "… and, for Statius, the hexameter was the natural vehicle of expression; but he did not trust his epic hexameters to do justice to Lucan the epic poet"; Morgan 2000, 120.

turus hexametros meos timui. What is the nature of Statius' fear? Translations such as Mozley's "than by distrusting my own hexameters when about to sing his praises" miss the point.[14] The key is the accusative *hexametros meos*. Instead of constructions which would mean "to be afraid for", such as *timeo* with *pro* and the ablative or indeed *timeo* followed by an indirect object in the dative,[15] Statius uses the accusative denoting what is feared (*OLD* s.v. 2). It is his hexameters which are the object of his fears: the danger is that they might outdo the subject. Thus, even an expression of reverence towards Lucan may also carry the implication that Statian hexameters might represent serious competition.

Indeed even the non-hexameter poems have features which might link them with epic. Clearly *Silvae* 2.7 draws on epic motifs such as the survival of fame, not only in Lucan's commemoration of Pompey (*Silv*. 2.7.70–2), but also for Lucan himself. For instance, Statius imagines that Lucan's soul may well be looking down on the world below, recalling the ascent of Pompey's soul at Luc. 9.1–14, though Statius also allows for the possibility of Lucan's soul going to Elysium.[16]

A poem on Lucan, whatever its metre, might seem an unremarkable locus for intersection between the *Silvae* and epic. However, such intersections occur elsewhere within the non-hexameter poems of the *Silvae*. Statius concludes the first book with a hendecasyllable poem on the Saturnalia (1.6). This is about as far removed from epic as possible, but there are elements even here pointing to the higher genre of epic. Thus Newlands, for example, has suggested that the epic comparison with the Amazons at *Silv*. 1.6.51–6 heightens the grotesque incongruity of the mock-battle fought amongst themselves by the women.[17] However, the end of the poem is also noteworthy:

> Quos ibit procul hic dies per annos!
> Quam nullo sacer exolescet aeuo,
> dum montes Latii paterque Thybris,

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[14] Mozley 1928, 75; cf. e.g. Colom and Dolç 1958, 11 "que desconfiant dels meus hexàmetres al moment d'expressar les seves lloances".

[15] For *timeo* with *pro* and the ablative, cf. e.g. *Silv*. 1.*ep*.6–7 *quo adhuc pro Thebaide mea, quamuis me reliquerit, timeo*; for the dative see *OLD* s.v. *timeo* 1.

[16] Cf. *Silv*. 5.3.19–27, where the same alternatives are envisaged for Statius' father. The motif of the soul looking down on earthly vanity recalls the *Somnium Scipionis*: see Cic. *Rep*. 6.15–6. For another epic parallel, cf. Ov. *Met*. 15.143–52.

[17] See Newlands 2002, 253–4.

dum stabit tua Roma dumque terris
quod reddis Capitolium manebit.

(Stat. *Silv*. 1.6.98–102)

Through what years will this day last far off! How it will not fade away at any time, as long as the Latin mountains and father Tiber are there, as long as your Rome will stand and the Capitol, which you restore to the world.

It is of course a paradox that the single day of the Saturnalia commemorated in the poem will last throughout all of time. The day survives, but as the poem, and one model for such *poetic* survival is the end of Horace's third book of *Odes*, where Horace predicates the survival of his poetry on the survival of Rome (Hor. *Carm.* 3.30.7–9). This is of course an example taken from lyric poetry, but it is worth recollecting that parallels are also found in epic, such as the similar anticipation of the fame of Nisus and Euryalus at Verg. *A*. 9.446–9.[18] In any event, the lavish promise of the survival of the Saturnalia at the end of the first book points to Statius' willingness to use such motifs even in a metre like hendecasyllables.

Domitian in Statian poetics

We have already seen in *Silv*. 1.6 how the poet ends his book with hendecasyllables.[19] It is also instructive to see how Statius begins this first book of the *Silvae*. Its preface, as already mentioned, places the *Silvae* on a lower plane, suggesting that the *Silvae* are more closely affiliated to works like the *Culex*, and Statius also points out that every poet has done something *stilo remissiore* ("with a more relaxed style") (*Silv*. 1.*ep*.9).[20] However, even this preface offers something that seems to go in the opposite direction, with the announcement of Statius' decision to open the collection of poems with Domitian:

[18] See also V. Fl. 2.244–6, where the poet predicates Hypsipyle's fame on the survival of Rome (cf. Clare 2004, 136–7; Gibson 2004b, 165–6); cf. Ov. *Met*. 15.877–9, where Ovid's survival is ensured by continuing Roman power. For the use of *dum* clauses in such passages, see McKeown on Ov. *Am*. 1.15.9–10; Nisbet and Rudd on Hor. *Carm.* 3.30.8–9. Statius himself echoes Virgil's address to Nisus and Euryalus at *Theb*. 10.445–8.

[19] See van Dam 1984, 453 on hendecasyllables as a closural device in the last poems of Books 1, 2 and 4.

[20] For *stilus* thus, cf. e.g. *Silv*. 2.*ep*.16 *eandem exigebat stili facilitatem leo mansuetus*.

> Primus libellus sacrosanctum habet testem, sumendum enim erat “a Ioue principium”. Centum hos uersus, quos in ecum maximum feci, indulgentissimo imperatori postero die quam dedicauerat opus tradere ausus sum.
>
> (*Silv.* 1.*ep.*16–9)
>
> The first book has a sacred witness, for I had to take “from Jove my beginning”. These hundred verses, which I composed on the great horse, I dared to hand over to the most indulgent emperor on the day after he had dedicated the work.

If Sandstroem’s conjecture *ausus sum* is correct here,[21] Statius describes the offer of this poem to the emperor as an act of daring. We shall see subsequently how Statius uses similar language in the *Thebaid* (*Theb.* 1.18) to refer to the composition of grand epic poetry about the emperor.

The motif of beginning from Jove is also important. Newlands has argued that its appearances in Theoc. 17 and Verg. *Ecl.* 3 indicate the influences of Hellenistic panegyric poetry and bucolic in Statius’ treatment of the emperor.[22] Another important parallel, however, is Quint. *Inst.* 10.1.46:

> Igitur, ut Aratus ab Ioue incipiendum putat, ita nos rite coepturi ab Homero uidemur.
>
> (Quint. *Inst.* 10.1.46)
>
> Therefore, as Aratus considers that one should begin from Jove, so it seems appropriate that we should take our beginning from Homer.

Here Quintilian refers, as is well known, to the beginning of the *Phaenomena* of Aratus, but then uses the theme of starting from Jove as a metaphor for his decision to start from the highest poet of all, Homer. Quintilian shows that “beginning from” Jove can function on a metaliterary level, synonymous with writing at the grandest level. I would suggest that the very act of beginning with Jove in the *Silvae* is a generic paradox, because Jove, a figure whom one might associate

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[21] See further the arguments in favour of *ausus sum* offered by Håkanson 1969, 17–8; Geyssen 1996, 28–30.

[22] Newlands 2002, 53–4; cf. Ahl 1984, 91; Geyssen 1996, 145 n. 1. For discussion of the opening of Theoc. 17 in terms of genre, see Fantuzzi 2000, 142–3. See also Gibson 2004a, 5–6 on the *ab Ioue principium* motif in Germanicus and in Calpurnius Siculus.

with epic, is closely associated with Domitian by Statius, and Domitian is an important theme of the *Silvae*.[23]

This paradox also provides an interesting counterpoint to the opening of the Statian epics. Both the *Thebaid* and the *Achilleid* open with deferral or refusal of imperial subject matter, which is far too lofty for Statius to deal with at the present (*Theb.* 1.17–33; *Ach.* 1.19). The *Thebaid* in particular makes much of this point: in line 18 Statius proclaims that "I would not dare to speak of your northern triumphs" (*nec Arctoos ausim spirare triumphos*), even though he can imagine a later time when he would be equal to the task of writing about Domitian (*Theb.* 1.32–3). In both Statian epics the device of *recusatio*[24] is used to suggest that actual epic poems on Thebes and Achilles do not represent the highest kind of writing, which is poetry on the emperor. Here one might compare, for instance, passages in Ovid where the poet comments on his (un)suitability for writing about Augustus.[25] However, there is a qualitative difference between Ovid declining to sing of the emperor's grand achievements in his *Tristia*, written in elegiacs, and Statius' incorporating such a *recusatio*, not of epic *per se*, but of a certain kind of grand epic, right at the start of the *Thebaid* and the *Achilleid*.

But to return to *Silv.* 1.1, *a Ioue principium*. As it happens, *Silvae* 1 starts with the kind of grand Jovian material which Statius considers himself unequal to at the openings of the epics.[26] From the beginning, Statius highlights the large-scale aspects of the statue of Domitian. The opening words are concerned with size and scale and indicate that the statue surpasses its civic setting in Rome (*Silv.* 1.1.1–2): *Quae superimposito moles geminata colosso / stat Latium complexa forum?*, "What mass doubled by the colossus placed above it stands holding the Latin forum in its embrace?" The opening emphasis on size is extraordinary in a book of poems which are to be considered in the same

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[23] Compare the role of Jove in Ovid, *Fasti* 3, with Hinds 1992, 93–7. For Domitian in both Martial and Statius, see now Nauta 2002a, 327–440.

[24] See further Markus 2003, 448–51, Nauta in this volume, 30–4.

[25] See e.g. Ov. *Tr.* 2.73–4, where others have an *ingenio ... uberiore*, for singing about Augustus' deeds; cf. Ov. *Tr.* 2.333–8, on Ovid's weakness and inability to sing of Augustus' achievements, referred to in terms of Gigantomachy. Note too Verg. *G.* 3.46–8 where Virgil promises that he will soon (*mox*) write of Caesar's wars, though the passage is not an exact analogy with Statius since the *Georgics* are not mythological epic.

[26] On *Silv.* 1.1.1–21, see Geyssen 1996, 36–63.

light as the *Culex* or the *Batrachomachia*. Moreover the equestrian statue surpasses the Trojan horse (1.1.8–16) and the horse which Mars used in his Thracian wars (1.1.18–21).[27] These Thracian wars may be felt to be traditional, but it is worth remembering that Mars in the *Thebaid* takes part in such conflicts, as at e.g. *Theb.* 3.220–6, 7.6–13, so that Domitian's horse surpasses not only the horses of previous epic (Homer and Virgil, represented by the Trojan horse), but even Mars' horse from Statius' own epic. Thus the poem opens with a clear outdoing of conventional epic. This reinforces the kind of hierarchies we find in the opening of the *Thebaid* and the *Achilleid*, where mythological epic is subordinate to imperial epic.

There are other features of this poem which reinforce this sense of an epic beginning. These include such details as a comparison between the horse and the mythological horses Arion and Cyllarus (*Silv.* 1.1.52–4), both mentioned in the *Thebaid*,[28] an account of the statue's construction in *Silv.* 1.1.61–5,[29] which might recall passages on the building of cities such as those in the *Aeneid* on the building of Carthage (see e.g. Verg. *A.* 1.418–40 and 4.260–1), a reference in *Silv.* 1.1.69 to *mugire forum*, "the forum bellowed", evoking Virgil's account of Aeneas at the site of Rome,[30] and finally, four lines on the survival of the statue in the future:

> Non hoc imbriferas hiemes opus aut Iouis ignem
> tergeminum, Aeolii non agmina carceris horret
> annorumue moras; stabit, dum terra polusque,
> dum Romana dies.
>
> (Stat. *Silv.* 1.1.91–4)

> This work will not fear the winters that bring rain or the triple fire of Jove, nor the throngs of Aeolus' prison or the delays of the years; it will stand as long as there is land and sky, as long as the Roman day lasts.

Statius guarantees the survival not only of the statue, but also, as Geyssen has argued, of the poem as well.[31] This grand gesture at the

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27 See also Newlands 2002, 53, on the exhaustion of Brontes and Steropes in lines 3–4.

28 See further Ahl 1984, 94–6; Geyssen 1996, 95–6.

29 See also Geyssen 1996, 103.

30 Verg. *A.* 8.361 *Romanoque foro et lautis mugire Carinis*.

31 For such anticipations of longevity, compare the end of *Silv.* 1.6 (discussed above) and 4.3, and see Geyssen 1996, 117–23, who also discusses parallels with Hor. *Carm.* 3.30 and the end of Ov. *Met.* 15; cf. Newlands 2002, 67, 69.

end of *Silvae* 1.1, the poem which represented a beginning with Jove, can be set alongside the same elevated gesture in *Silvae* 1.6, even when it is found in a poem on the Saturnalia. Thus Statius begins and ends the first book of the *Silvae* with material which represents the full range of subject matter in the *Silvae*, moving from a colossal equestrian statue of Domitian to the festivities involved in a day at the Saturnalia. In spite of the preface's apparent distinction between epic poetry and the *Silvae*, Statius is willing to emphasise epic aspects of his poetry.

The fourth book of the *Silvae* opens with three poems dealing with Domitian. Again, these imperial poems are found in a book where, as we have seen, the preface intimates that the work is a mere exercise, although at the same time Statius draws attention to the offering of three poems of praise to Domitian.[32] Though Statius does not write of the emperor's wars, dealing instead with his seventeenth consulship (4.1), a banquet given by Domitian (4.2) and the Via Domitiana (4.3), these poems represent a considerable investment in the emperor as fit subject matter in a book of the *Silvae*. They too have epic features: thus in 4.1, Janus foretells eastern victories for Domitian (4.1.40–3), which recalls Lucan's reminder that there were still nations whom Rome had not yet conquered as a result of destructive civil war (Luc. 1.10–20); prophesy of a glorious future is of course a device used in Virgil as well. The second poem begins with striking references to the epic banquets of Dido in the *Aeneid* and of Alcinous in the *Odyssey*, but, as with the horse in *Silv*. 1.1, Statius surpasses his predecessors, a point enforced by ingenious variation of the "hundred tongues" motif:[33]

> qua celebrem mea uota lyra, quas soluere gratis
> sufficiam? Non, si pariter mihi uertice laeto
> nectat adoratas et Smyrna et Mantua lauros,
> digna loquar. Mediis uideor discumbere in astris

[32] *Silv*. 4.*ep*.2–4 *reor equidem aliter quam inuocato numine maximi imperatoris nullum opusculum meum coepisse; sed hic liber tres habet* ... The absence of references to Domitian in the prefaces to Books 2 and 3 is usually believed to indicate that Books 1–3 were published at the same time: see Coleman 1988, 55–6, though note that Nauta 2002a, 285–9, 444 has argued for separate publication of the first three books of the *Silvae* in AD 92, 93, and 94 respectively.

[33] On this motif, see Coleman 1988, 80; Laguna 1990, 133 and n. 34; Hinds, 1998, 34–47; Myers 2000, 133–4. For other Statian responses, cf. *Silv*. 2.2.36–42, 5.4.11–3; *Theb*. 12.797–9.

cum Ioue et Iliaca porrectum sumere dextra
immortale merum!

(Stat. *Silv.* 4.2.7–12)

With what lyre might I celebrate my praise, what thanks might I be able to return? I could not speak words that were worthy, if Smyrna and Mantua together were to entwine the honoured laurels on my joyous head. I seem to recline in the midst of the stars, and to receive the immortal wine offered by a Trojan hand.

Instead of predictably saying that without the Muses' help, Statius could not sing of his subject, the poet declares that not even the powers of Homer and Virgil would be sufficient for him to celebrate Domitian's banquet. And yet, like the poet of the *Iliad* who *does* produce the catalogue of ships in *Iliad* 2, Statius will give an account of the emperor's banquet, accomplishing something which he implies would be beyond Homer or Virgil. Notice also that in his description of the banquet Statius then adopts such features as the use of Ceres and Bacchus to refer to food and wine (*Silv.* 4.2.34; cf. e.g. Verg. *A.* 1.177 [Ceres], 1.215 [Bacchus]), while comparison between the banquet and the feasting of the Aethiopians (*Silv.* 4.2.53–6) also looks back at Homer. In *Silvae* 4.3 as well, though the subject is ostensibly Domitian's road, it is worth noting that even in a hendecasyllable poem[34] there is a prophecy from the Sibyl, an obviously Virgilian figure, looking forward to Domitian's future glories (*Silv.* 4.3.124–63).[35]

These three poems represent a strikingly Domitianic introduction to *Silvae* 4; it is worth noting that the books which give most attention to the emperor, both in the prefaces and in the poems, are the ones where Statius is most concerned to respond to criticism, potential or actual, in the prefaces. And, as we have seen, Statius highlights avoidance of Domitian as a topic which is too difficult at the start of the two epics. This topic is also alluded to in the next poem, *Silvae* 4.4, the letter to Vitorius Marcellus. Statius is in Naples, (*Parthenope*, *Silv.* 4.4.53), where Virgil had placed himself at the end of the *Georgics* (Verg. *G.* 4.563–6). In lines 87–100 he tells Marcellus that the *Thebaid* is now complete and that he is embarking on the *Achilleid*. However, Statius also mentions an ambition to write of Domitian:

34 See Morgan 2000, 114–9 for a useful discussion of the metre. On the whole poem, see Smolenaars in this volume.

35 On this speech, see Newlands 2002, 309–23.

> Troia quidem magnusque mihi temptatur Achilles
> sed uocat arcitenens alio pater armaque monstrat
> Ausonii maiora ducis. Trahit impetus illo
> iam pridem retrahitque timor. Stabuntne sub illa
> mole umeri an magno uincetur pondere ceruix?
> Dic, Marcelle, feram? Fluctus an sueta minores
> nosse ratis nondum Ioniis credenda periclis?
>
> (Stat. *Silv.* 4.4.94–100)

> Indeed I am trying out Troy and great Achilles, but the archer-god calls me elsewhere and shows me the greater arms of the Ausonian lord. My desire has been dragging me in that direction for a long time now, and my fear draws me back. Will my shoulders stand under such a burden, or will my neck be overwhelmed by its great weight? Tell me, Marcellus, will I bear it? Or is my bark that is used to lesser waves not yet to be entrusted to Ionian dangers?

As Coleman notes in her commentary, this passage represents Apollo urging on the poet to higher writing, in contrast to such works as Virgil's *Ecl.* 6 and indeed Callimachus' prologue to the *Aetia*.[36] It is worth noticing though that this anxiety about Domitianic subject matter comes after three poems about the emperor, which have all included epic elements. Apollo shows Statius *arma*, glancing at the opening word of the *Aeneid*, but these are *armaque … Ausonii maiora ducis*, the "greater arms of the Ausonian lord", Domitian, an ingenious capping of Virgil's own claim that the second, martial half of the *Aeneid* was the "greater task", *maius opus* (Verg. *A.* 7.45). The juxtaposition of the first three poems of *Silvae* 4 with this passage in *Silvae* 4.4 draws attention to a feature of the *Silvae* rarely found in Statius' epics: the emperor himself. Domitian's presence, not only in poems actually about him (1.1, 4.1–3), but also elsewhere (as in, for example, *Silv.* 5.1, the lament for Priscilla, wife of Abascantus, Domitian's *ab epistulis*), reminds us that the *Silvae* engage with material which is apparently loftier than the actual epic poems of Statius. Though Statius expresses anxiety about the difficulty of writing about the emperor in *Silv.* 4.4 and in the proems to the *Thebaid* and *Achilleid*, Domitian has a far larger presence in the *Silvae* than in the epics themselves.

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[36] Coleman 1988, 156.

The Silvae *and epic: Generic overlap and instability*

This section will consider how the *Silvae* perhaps provide reminders of areas of epic which might not on the surface seem especially "epic", in terms of the customary stereotyping in terms of warfare and heroism. Here, I owe much to Stephen Hinds' treatment of the *Achilleid* in the Depew and Obbink *Matrices of Genre* volume.[37] Hinds shows how the poem renegotiates and reexamines the essence of epic, in particular through its treatment of feminine elements in the story of Achilles on Scyros. In what follows I will consider how the *Silvae* might remind us of epic, and how perhaps we can be reminded of the *Silvae* when reading epic.

To take a brief set of examples first. In *Silvae* 1.2, the hexameter *epithalamion* for the elegiac poet Arruntius Stella and Violentilla, Statius invokes the Muse Erato:

> Sed quae causa toros inopinaque gaudia uatis
> attulit? Hic mecum, dum feruent agmina postes
> atriaque et multa pulsantur limina uirga,
> hic, Erato iucunda, doce.
>
> (Stat. *Silv*. 1.2.46–9)

> But what reason has brought about the nuptials and the poet's unexpected joy? Here with me, while the crowds throng the doors and the halls and while the doors are often beaten with a staff, here, fair Erato, narrate it.

Arguably Erato is addressed because she is associated with love poetry.[38] However, note that she is invoked in the same way as an epic Muse might be, not perhaps to give the whole story, but to explain causation (compare Verg. *A*. 1.8 *Musa causas memora*, "Muse, relate to me the causes …"). And this passage is not the only invocation of Erato in the *Silvae*. Compare:

> Iam diu lato spatiata campo
> fortis heroos, Erato, labores
> differ atque ingens opus in minores
> contrahe gyros.
>
> (Stat. *Silv*. 4.7.1–4)

[37] Hinds 2000.
[38] Cf. Pederzani 1995, 57.

> Though you have roamed[39] in the broad field now for a long time, defer the labours of heroes, brave Erato, and contract a vast work into lesser circuits.

Here, Statius clearly associates Erato with epic endeavour (*heroos … labores*). Now Statius does discuss both the *Thebaid* and the *Achilleid* in this poem, so that the excursion into lyric metre seems a respite from his activity in composing epic. But there may be more. Statius has already moved from the hexameter to lyric metres before the sapphics of *Silv.* 4.7 with the alcaics used in 4.5. But *Silv.* 4.6, on a statuette of the heroic figure of Hercules, is in hexameters. Thus, for a reader of Book 4, the appeal to Erato to move away from heroic subject matter might also be felt in terms of a shift away from the loftier subject matter of 4.6.[40] *Ingens opus*, in particular, might look back to the Hercules statuette described in 4.6, where the god was wittily described as *paruusque uideri / sentirique ingens*, "small to behold, but making a great impression" (*Silv.* 4.6.37–8).[41] Thus, this request to Erato for a move from hexameters into a lyric metre can also be read in terms of a shift from a poem on Hercules in hexameters to a poem addressed to a friend written in sapphics. And the reference to Erato perhaps recalls other appearances in epic, as noted by Coleman: she is invoked at the start of Apollonius, *Argonautica* 3, and also at Verg. *A.* 7.37–45, where she is asked to move the epic up a gear, as Virgil prepares to sing of kings and the war fought in Italy by Aeneas and the Trojans.[42] Statius' two references to Erato in the *Silvae* remind us that a Muse properly associated with love poetry has also had a role in the tradition of epic as well.

On the larger scale, deathbed scenes demonstrate interesting overlap between the *Silvae* and epic.[43] Examples occur in 2.1 (146–53), 2.6 (74–82), and 5.1 (155–96). They seem entirely characteristic of *epice-*

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[39] Coleman 1988, 198 argues in favour of the Renaissance correction *spatiata* over the Madrid manuscript's *sociata*.

[40] Contrast the shift towards loftier writing implied by Virgil's address to the Muses at *Ecl.* 4.1 *Sicelides Musae, paulo maiora canamus*, where the comparative *paulo maiora* clearly refers back to earlier poems within the book.

[41] Cf. *Silv.* 4.6.43 *tam magna breui mendacia formae* for similar play on the size of the statuette which could be read in metapoetic terms; see Gibson 1995, 13.

[42] Coleman 1988, 198–9. On Virgil's invocation of Erato and Apollonius, see Nelis 2001, 263, 267–8.

[43] On epic lament, see the discussion of *Silv.* 3.3 at Laguna 1992, 248.

dia or laments,[44] but there are also epic parallels. Thus Priscilla's last moments in *Silv*. 5.1.170–96 can be compared with *Theb*. 8.636–54, where Atys dies in the presence of Ismene. Atys' refusal of a last glimpse of the sky (and for this compare Dido's *quaesiuit caelo lucem ingemuitque reperta* at *A*. 4.692), and his eyes being closed by Ismene are the kind of affecting detail one would expect in *epicedia* but not perhaps in epic. One might argue that Atys (and Dido) are unheroic, and therefore unepic characters, but one might reply that a characteristic feature of epic is its inclusion of matters which are not typically epic.[45] Similarly, Statius on occasion writes in the *Silvae* of how a bereaved person has to be restrained by *comites*, companions. This might seem the kind of extravagant behaviour associated more with lovers than with epic poetry. Thus at *Silv*. 5.1.199–200 Abascantus could scarcely be held back by his *comites* from suicide after Priscilla's death, and Claudius Etruscus, who has lost his father, is similarly restrained at *Silv*. 3.3.178–9.[46] However, parallels also occur in epic: at Verg. *A*. 9.500–2, Euryalus' mother is held back as she grieves for her son,[47] Evander cannot be restrained at the bier of Pallas at *A*. 11.148; at Stat. *Theb*. 9.76–81 Polynices draws his sword but is prevented from suicide, while at 11.628 Antigone thwarts her father's search for a weapon with which to kill himself.[48] Instances of such behaviour in the *Silvae* perhaps point up some of the extravagance of similar examples in epic itself. Considerations of space prevent fuller discussion, but it is no surprise that the funeral of Opheltes in the *Thebaid* has similarities with funerals in the *Silvae*.[49] I hope that this brief discussion of death scenes shows how the *Silvae* can become a tool in the reading of epic, and a reminder that epic, though it possess the highest status, is never as stable and as monolithic as it might seem.

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44 See e.g. the discussion of "Die Motive der 'descriptio morbi et mortis'" in Esteve-Forriol 1962, 140–4.

45 Cf. Hinds 2000, 223: "'Unepic' elements, no matter how frequently they feature in actual epics, continue to be regarded as unepic … woman never becomes theorized into epic as an essential element of the genre, but woman does achieve a kind of essentialized theoretical status as an *ambusher* of the purity of epic".

46 Cf. *Silv*. 2.1.25, 5.3.67–8; van Dam 1984, 86–7.

47 Noted by Laguna 1992, 295 on *Silv*. 3.3.178.

48 A curious parallel is Sil. 13.390 *non comites tenuisse ualent*, in a description of Scipio's grief for his father and brother, where Silius makes no mention at all of any attempt at suicide on the part of Scipio.

49 See the important discussion of Brown 1994, 186–7 on the laments in *Silvae* 5 and the death of Opheltes in the *Thebaid*.

Another area worth consideration is that of propemptic scenes of farewell in the *Silvae*.[50] Such scenes can be found in less exalted genres; an example might be Propertius' elegy, 1.6, where Propertius sends L. Volcacius Tullus on his way to Asia. However, they also occur in epic, arguably even as far back as the brief account of Odysseus' departure from Calypso (*Odyssey* 5.263–77), but nevertheless their presence in epic may be felt to represent something of an intrusion. To take another example, Francis Cairns has interpreted Dido's speeches to Aeneas in *Aeneid* 4 as an inversion of a propempticon.[51] Here, one might argue that the intrusion of propemptic material is characteristic of the manner in which *Aeneid* 4 might be an area whose generic status was somehow less obviously "epic" than other parts of the poem; compare, for instance, Ovid's claim that the part of the *Aeneid* where Virgil brought arms and the man into Tyrian beds (Ov. *Tr.* 2.533–6) is the part which most people read, a clear attempt to associate Book 4 of the *Aeneid* with erotic poetry.[52]

Statius offers two contributions in the *Silvae* which have clearly propemptic elements in them. In the first place, *Silv.* 3.2, on the departure of Maecius Celer for a military posting in Syria.[53] Alex Hardie has shown how this poem draws on Augustan predecessors, most notably Hor. *Carm.* 1.3, Horace's address to Virgil on his voyage to Greece, and Ov. *Am.* 2.11, where the poet is seeing Corinna off on a journey by sea.[54] Nevertheless, even though Statius' poem draws on Horace's lyric poem and Ovid's elegiac one, it also has its epic aspects. Thus the opening address to the gods of the sea to ensure favourable conditions might be felt to draw on the tradition of epic storms, first manifested in *Odyssey* 5. More recently, this address might recall Neptune's calming of the storm in the *Aeneid* (Verg. *A.* 1.132–56), or Venus' appeal to Neptune for a safe passage for Aeneas from Sicily to Italy (Verg. *A.* 5.779–98).

A further illustrative detail may also provide overlap with epic. Hardie has commented on the presence of Nereids in Statius (*Silv.*

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50 On the characteristics of the propempticon, see Cairns 1972, 3–16 on Prop. 1.6.

51 Cairns 1972, 131–5.

52 On this passage, see Gibson 1999, 35–7.

53 For fuller discussion of the poem, see Hardie 1983, 156–64; Laguna 1992, 191–8. The manuscript title, *PROPEMPTICON MAECIO CELERI* is not necessarily authentic: see van Dam 1984, 69–72; Coleman 1988, xxviii–xxxii, though Schröder 1999, 180–9 is less sceptical, as is Nauta 2002a, 269–72.

54 Hardie 1983, 158–64.

3.2.13–20) as a feature of the prompempticon, noting that the only occurrence of the Nereids in an Augustan propempticon is Ov. *Am.* 2.11.36.[55] However, one might note other occurrences of the Nereids, such as Verg. *A.* 5.822–6, where a whole host of marine deities and powers are described:

> Tum uariae comitum facies, immania cete,
> et senior Glauci chorus Inousque Palaemon
> Tritonesque citi Phorcique exercitus omnis;
> laeua tenet Thetis et Melite Panopeaque uirgo,
> Nisaee Spioque Thaliaque Cymodoceque.
>
> (Verg. *A.* 5.822–6)

> Then there are his companions, of varied appearance, vast leviathans, and the old throng of Glaucus and Inoan Palaemon and the swift Tritons and the whole horde of Phorcys; the left side is held by Thetis and Melite and the maiden Panopea, Nisaee, and Spio and Thalia and Cymodoce.

The presence of marine deities in Statius' poem might not only recall earlier examples of propempticon, but also epic, which of course has a considerable tradition of such sea-divinities, going back to the Nereids who accompany Thetis when she visits Achilles in *Iliad* 18.37–51.[56] Thus a feature which might seem typical of a propempticon might also be regarded as characteristic of epic as well. Arguably, reference to the Nereids in the real-life context of *Silvae* 3.2, Maecius Celer's departure, might be more markedly epic, more of an intrusion from an alien genre: we might expect Nereids in epic, but we are even more likely to notice them in a poem addressed to a living contemporary. And indeed, Statius might wish to evoke epic because Maecius is going on a military posting. Thus at *Silv.* 3.2.90–100, Statius declares that he could accompany him in the fighting: *operumque tuorum, / etsi non socius, certe mirator adessem*, "and although I might not have been there as a participant in your deeds, certainly I would have been there as an admirer of them" (94–5).[57] Statius then goes on to imagine

[55] Hardie 1983, 160. Men. Rh. 399.1–7 Sp. recommends marine deities for inclusion in a propempticon for a person who is going by sea. Laguna 1992, 197 notes the Nereids at Prop. 1.17.25–6.

[56] Cf. e.g. Hom. *Od.* 24.47–9; Hes. *Th.* 240–64; Catul. 64.14–8; Verg. *A.* 5.239–40 *eumque imis sub fluctibus audiit omnis / Nereidum Phorcique chorus Panopeaque uirgo.* Note too the Nereids who accompany Thetis at Stat. *Ach.* 1.27–8. On Virgil's use of such scenes and Apollonius, see Nelis 2001, 223–6.

[57] On these lines, see further Laguna 1992, 227–8.

himself as Phoenix to Celer's Achilles, recalling Achilles' elderly companion from *Iliad* 9. The end of the poem is also important, since Statius explicitly mentions his own epic endeavour:

> Tu rapidum Euphraten et regia Bactra sacrasque
> antiquae Babylonos opes et Zeu<g>ma, Latinae
> pacis iter, qua dulce nemus florentis Idumes,
> quo pretiosa Tyros rubeat, quo purpura suco
> Sidoniis iterata cadis, ubi germine primum
> candida felices sudent opobalsama uirgae;
> ast ego deuictis dederim quae busta Pelasgis
> quaeue laboratas claudat mihi pagina Thebas.
>
> (Stat. *Silv*. 3.2.136–43)

> You will tell of the swift Euphrates and of royal Bactria and the sacred opulence of ancient Babylon, and Zeugma, the thoroughfare of Latian peace, the region of the sweet grove of verdant Idume, through what tincture expensive Tyre turns red, and with what tincture the purple is twice-dyed in the Sidonian vats, where first the fertile groves ooze shining balsam from their buds; but I will tell of the pyres which I gave to the defeated Pelasgians and of the page which closes my Thebes that I have been working on.

Here Statius rounds off his poem with a contrast between the active life awaiting Maecius Celer and his own poetic existence.[58] The reference to the Euphrates (136) might evoke the end of Virgil's *Georgics* (Verg. *G*. 4.559–66), where Virgil contrasts his own leisured existence in Naples—where Statius wrote his epistle to Vitorius Marcellus, *Silv*. 4.4, as discussed above—with the martial achievements of Octavian in the East, *Caesar dum magnus ad altum / fulminat Euphraten bello*, "while great Caesar thunders in war at the deep Euphrates". Statius evokes the Virgilian contrast between military activity and poetic inactivity, but with a twist: he has not been writing either *Eclogues* or *Georgics*, but epic. A Virgilian passage often viewed as a tacit anticipation of a future epic project is turned by Statius into explicit advertisement of epic work already in progress: the sense of Statius as epic poet is even stronger, and Celer's achievements (themselves described in hexameters) come to seem equivalent to the hexameters which Statius will have written on Thebes. Thus we should not forget that *Silv*. 3.2 has an epic dimension, even if Statius is obviously drawing on non-epic examples of propempticon as well.

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[58] See further Hardie 1983, 162–3.

The second poem of Statius which has been felt to draw on propemptic motifs is *Silv.* 5.2.[59] Its addressee is Crispinus, a young patrician of sixteen, departing from Rome on a journey to Etruria which will itself be followed by more significant travels as a military tribune. The poem has a markedly encomiastic element, with much praise of Crispinus' father Vettius Bolanus. On the surface, Crispinus is not an obvious subject for a panegyrical treatment. Once again, however, we can point to elements which overlap with epic. There is much emphasis on Crispinus as the son of Bolanus. Praise of a person in terms of the merits of parents and ancestors is of course a common epideictic technique, and is not in itself epic. However, in *Silv.* 5.2 Statius employs epic allusions to accomplish this praise. Thus at *Silv.* 5.2.48–50, Statius compares Bolanus' support for Corbulo in his eastern campaigns to Telamon's support for Hercules in the first Trojan war, a comparison brilliantly capped by the sequel in 5.2.51 *disce, puer*, "learn, child", addressed to Crispinus, and inevitably recalling Aeneas' address to Ascanius in the last book of the *Aeneid* (Verg. *A.* 12.435–6), *disce, puer, uirtutem ex me uerumque laborem / fortunam ex aliis*, "learn, child, your virtue and true toil from me, and learn your fortune from others". This Virgilian passage itself echoes, as is well-known, S. *Ai.* 550–1, where Ajax addresses his son, so that Statius' comparison between Bolanus and Telamon fits in neatly with diction addressed to Crispinus which recalls Virgil and also Ajax, the son of Telamon. Another example of such mythological evocation is 5.2.151–2 where Statius, having imagined Crispinus being shown round the site of his father's victories by a Briton, offers a comparison in which he envisages Phoenix telling Achilles' son Pyrrhus about his father.

Examples such as these mythological similes might be felt to add to the epic atmosphere of *Silv.* 5.2. And though mythological material is not generically confined to epic, here, as in *Silv.* 3.2, I would suggest that epic is at issue, as the genre most closely associated with glorious deeds. But before I leave *Silv.* 5.2, I will return to the theme of the propempticon to show further how such material can occupy a nebulous space between epic and non-epic forms of writing.

In *Silv.* 5.2 Crispinus is about to leave for Etruria, and Statius anticipates another imminent journey on his appointment as a military

[59] On *Silv.* 5.2, see Seager 1983, 52–3; Hardie 1983, 146–51.

tribune. I wish however, to discuss a simile from the beginning of the poem as way of rounding off this paper:

> Rura meus Tyrrhena petit saltusque Tagetis
> Crispinus; nec longa mora est aut auia tellus,
> sed mea secreto uelluntur pectora morsu
> udaque turgentes impellunt lumina guttas,
> ceu super Aegaeas hiemes abeuntis amici
> uela sequar spectemque ratem iam fessus ab altis
> rupibus atque oculos longo querar aere uinci.
>
> (Stat. *Silv.* 5.2.1–7)

> My Crispinus is journeying to the Etruscan countryside and the wooded tracts of Tages. It is not a long delay, nor is the place inaccessible, but my heart is torn with a secret wound, and my moist eyes are driving out swelling tears, as if I were to follow the sails of a departing friend across the storms of the Aegean, and were exhausted while looking at the ship from tall cliffs, and complaining that my eyes were defeated by the expanse of air.

As well as recalling scenes of departure found in lesser poetic genres (we already seen examples from Horace and Ovid), this passage also has much in common with similar examples in contemporary *epic* poetry. In particular, I would focus on the description of the visual effect of watching the departing ship. There are striking parallels in Statius' epic work, when Hypsipyle describes the Argonauts leaving,[60] and when Chiron watches as Thetis and Achilles leave; in Valerius Flaccus, when the departure of the Argo is narrated; and in Silius Italicus, when Hannibal watches his wife and child depart at the start of the Second Punic War:

> Illos e scopulis et summo uertice montis
> spumea porrecti dirimentes terga profundi
> prosequimur uisu, donec lassauit euntes
> lux oculos longumque polo contexere uisa est
> aequor et extremi pressit freta margine caeli.
>
> (Stat. *Theb.* 5.481–5)

> From promontories and the summit of the mountain, as they cleave the foamy surface of the deep extending before them, we follow them with our gaze, until the light has wearied our journeying eyes, and has seemed to weave together the distant sea with the sky and has pressed on the main with the outermost edge of the sky.

[60] On Statius' treatment of the Lemnian episode, see Gibson 2004b.

Prosequitur diuam celeresque recursus
securus pelagi Chiron rogat udaque celat
lumina et abreptos subito iam iamque latentes
erecto prospectat equo, qua cana parumper
spumant signa fugae et liquido perit orbita ponto.

(Stat. *Ach.* 1.232–6)

Chiron follows the goddess and untroubled by the sea he prays for their swift return and hides his moist eyes and standing tall on his hooves gazes at them as they are suddenly snatched away and now at that very moment being hidden from his gaze, where the white traces of their departure foam for a little while and the ship's course is lost in the liquid sea.

It pariter propulsa ratis, stant litore matres
claraque uela oculis percussaque sole sequuntur
scuta uirum, donec iam celsior arbore pontus
immensusque ratem spectantibus abstulit aer.

(V. Fl. 1.494–7)

The ship goes on its way, driven forward at the same time, and the mothers stand on the shore and follow the famous sails and the sun-beaten shields of the men with their eyes, until the sea, now higher than the bark, and the vast expanse of air has taken away the ship from the onlookers.

dumque ea permixtis inter se fletibus orant,
confisus pelago celsa de puppe magister
cunctantem ciet. abripitur diuulsa marito.
haerent intenti uultus et litora seruant,
donec iter liquidum uolucri rapiente carina
consumpsit uisus pontus tellusque recessit.

(Sil. 3.152–7)

And while they make these entreaties to each other with mingled tears, from the high stern the helmsman, trusting in the sea, summons her as she hesitates. She is carried off, snatched away from her husband. Her keen stare cleaves to him and watches the shore, until the sea has exhausted her gaze as the swift ship took its watery way, and the land receded from view.

Moreover, there is even an epic simile at *Theb.* 4.24–30 which is used on the day the Argive host prepares to leave for Thebes at the start of the war:[61]

> Sic ubi forte uiris longum super aequor ituris,
> cum iam ad uela noti et scisso redit ancora fundo,
> haeret amica manus: certant innectere collo
> bracchia, manantesque oculos hinc oscula turbant,
> hinc magni caligo maris, tandemque relicti
> stant in rupe tamen; fugientia carbasa uisu
> dulce sequi, patriosque dolent crebrescere uentos.
> (Stat. *Theb.* 4.24–30)

> As when a friendly band clings to men who are perhaps about to travel on the distant sea, when already the south winds are in the sails, and the anchor comes back cleaving its way from the bottom,: they strive to bind their arms around their necks, and here kisses, here the darkness of the vast sea troubles their tearful eyes, and left behind at last they stand on a rock all the same; it is sweet to follow the fleeing sails with their gaze, and they grieve that their country's winds are becoming stronger.

This epic simile can in fact be seen as parallel to the simile which describes how Statius would react to Crispinus' departure. And here we return to the issue of form and content with which this paper began. Statius' description of Crispinus' departure in a simile might seem to be a marker of the fact that his poem has a propemptic element to it, with its evocation of a scene of departure. At the same time, however, epic is never far from our consciousness. This is partly an effect of the hexameter metre used in most of the *Silvae*, but it is also an effect of content; for all their protestations of trivial status and levity, the *Silvae* provide constant reminders of epic, which must in part be a strategy to suggest that they are in fact more significant than at first they might seem. Statius' concern to respond to critics in the first and fourth books of the collection can only reflect a sense that his work was, paradoxically, not taken seriously; and the epic elements of the poems surely form part of his response to this criticism.

[61] Cf. *Theb.* 7.143–4, where those on board a ship watch the land recede, in a simile describing the departure of the Argive host from Nemea.

11. MULTIPLE IMITATION OF EPIC MODELS IN THE *SILVAE*

Harm-Jan van Dam

That Statius in his *Silvae* drew on epic material is not a new thought. Although Friedrich Vollmer in his ground-breaking and influential commentary of 1898 omitted the epic from his list of genres which influenced the *Silvae*, quite a few scholars since the early twentieth century have included it, while focussing on diverging aspects, such as description, mythology or praise, gradually sophisticating the crude concept of "influence", which became intertextuality, genre, gender and voice.[1]

A general, generic definition of "epic" or *das Epische* is difficult, but we may agree that usually an omniscient narrator tells, in a lofty style, a long, serious and significant story in which the action takes some time; it takes place in the historical or mythical past, and kings, heroes, gods and demi-gods play a part. Occasional poetry on the other hand, and that is the essence of the *Silvae*, is, by definition, poetry of the here and now; it does not tell, but describes, and, most important, praises. Its status is low, its protagonists are real and living, and the poet speaks in his own person.[2] But the *Silvae* are not altogether poems of the here and now. Elsewhere in this volume Bruce Gibson shows how important epic is to the *Silvae* in many ways. In

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[1] Vollmer 1898, 25–6 mentioned elegy, epigram, lyrical poetry and epistle, although Ziehen 1896 already drew attention to epic quotations, see also Ziehen 1904. Further: Geissler 1916, 47 and following; Szelest 1972, 315–6: "… den Einfluss den die epische Dichtung auf unsere Sammlung ausgeübt hat …"; Pederzani 1991, 24; Taisne 1996; Myers 2000, 116 and following, 127, esp. 133–4, who even claims that "as *many* critics have pointed out, the Silvae are *primarily* epic in style, technique, vocabulary and in their use of myth" (134, my italics HJvD). According to Hardie 1983, 39 and 86 with n. 61, the epic element in the *Silvae* derives from Greek panegyric epic of the fourth century and later. In the introduction to his paper elsewhere in this volume (163) Bruce Gibson offers more instances of authors assigning epic characteristics to the S*ilvae*. Older studies on Statius' imitation are those of Luehr 1880; Deipser 1881; Lohrisch 1905; Fletcher 1934 and 1945.

[2] Some of these features are already mentioned by Aristotle, *Poetics* 1449b9 and following; see also Hor. *Ars* 73 *res gestae regumque ducumque et tristia bella*, and more Latin (programmatic) passages mentioned and explored by Hinds 2000, 223 and following. On occasional poetry, see Segebrecht 1977.

this paper I will just offer some examples of multiple imitation of epic models.

Hans Smolenaars has emphasized that in the *Thebaid* Statius almost invariably imitates several of his predecessors together, in such a way that he has one primary source, but combines allusions to other sources with it.[3] It seems to me that in the *Silvae* this same technique is sometimes at play, and in this paper I shall discuss some scenes where Statius alludes to his epic predecessors Virgil, Lucan, Valerius and Silius, sometimes also to his own epics. That is to say, I shall mainly discuss the *heroic* epic side of the *Silvae*, the Virgilian one so to say, as it appears in allusions, comparisons, mythological elements and (short) narrative scenes. When all is said and done, Virgil remains the privileged author in the *Silvae*, I think, and he is only a footstep away in these poems as well as in the *Thebaid*.[4]

On the other hand, the characteristics of epic as given above do not really take into account Ovid's *Metamorphoses*, whereas Ovid in all his shapes is an important source of the *Silvae*—source may be well be the right word, for whenever rivers and fountains play a part in the *Silvae*, scenes remind strongly of Ovid: the river Anio who frolicks on his own banks and dives into himself, or the nymph who is both nymph and pool, or the river Volturnus who thanks Domitian for putting him into his place.[5] This Ovidian, paradoxical element is also seen at the level of the phrase: when Statius introduces Envy torturing herself by Envy (*seseque uidendo* / *Inuidia torsit*, 2.6.76–7), we may be reminded of Ovidian turns such as Sleep shaking off Sleep from himself ([Somnus] *excussit tandem sibi se*, Ov. *Met.* 11.621). But apart from sources and sentences, attention has repeatedly been drawn to Statius' general "Ovidian" qualities, in both the *Silvae* and the *Achilleid*.[6] I will return to Ovid's possible role in Statius' epic imitations.

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3 Smolenaars 1994, xxvi–xlii and Smolenaars 2004.

4 See e.g. *Silv.* 5.3.266–76, where Statius pictures himself as another Aeneas: *felix ille patrem uacuis circumdedit ulnis ... fas mihi sic patrios contingere uultus, fas iunxisse manus*, cf. Verg. *A.* 6.697–702; the father's mortal remains lie buried in Ascanius' territory: 5.3.37–9.

5 1.3.70–4, 2.3.44–61, 4.3.68–97, cf. e.g. *Met.* 5.573–5, 599–600, 636–8 (Alpheius and Arethusa), 9.1–97, esp. 17–8, 96–7 (Hercules and Acheloüs). On the Narcissistic element in 2.3 see Cancik 1967 and Hardie in this volume, 209.

6 Rosati 1994; Hinds 1998, chapter 5, pp. 123 and following; Hinds 2000.

First, however, I will discuss a single allusion to Virgil in the *Silvae*, in order to illustrate how Virgilian epic is sometimes, unexpectedly, just around the corner. It concerns only two words from the first poem of the second book: Statius comforts his friend Atedius Melior on the death of his twelve-year-old slave-boy, Glaucias. After a pathetic description of his death, Statius adduces an argument for comfort: the boy's beauty did not suffer, for his illness was short.

> Gratum est, Fata, tamen quod non mors lenta iacentis
> exedit puerile decus, manesque subibit
> integer et nullo temeratus corpora damno,
> **qualis erat**.
>   Quid ego exsequias et prodiga flammis
> dona loquar …?
>
> (Stat. *Silv.* 2.1.154–8)

> But we thank you, Fates, that no lingering death devoured his boyish beauty as he lay; he will go whole to the shades, nothing lost, body inviolate, just as he was. Why should I tell of the obsequies, the lavish gifts bestowed upon the flames …?[7]

The consoling argument from beauty is characteristic of Statian aesthetics; the thought behind it is that the dead retain the appearance they had when they died. But the emphatic concluding enjambment *qualis erat* is a signal: it reminds us of Hector appearing to Aeneas in his dream in the second book of the *Aeneid*:

> Ei mihi, **qualis erat**, quantum mutatus ab illo
> Hectore qui redit exuuias indutus Achilli
> uel Danaum Phrygios iaculatus puppibus ignis!
>
> (Verg. *A.* 2.274–6)

> Ah me, what aspect was his! How changed he was from that Hector who returns after donning the spoils of Achilles or hurling on Danaan ships the Phrygian fires.

The phrase *qualis erat* is relatively rare: it occurs only five or six times in earlier poetry—the earliest of these occurrences is, of course, in Ennius' *Annals*, where Virgil found it.[8] But its rarity alone may fail to convince that Statius here alludes to Virgil. Later in the poem, however, the dead boy descends into the underworld, and as a matter of

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[7] I have used Courtney's OCT and Shackleton Bailey's Loeb translation unless otherwise indicated.

[8] Enn. *Ann.* 442 Skutsch (7 Vahlen) *Ei mihi qualis erat*; Ov. *Am* 1.10.3; *Ib.* 263, 627; Luc. 7.9; V. Fl. 8.458. In Statius also *Theb.* 4.309 and 10.204 (below).

course there is some imitation of *Aeneid* 6.[9] This reinforces the idea that *qualis erat* could well be a reminiscence of Virgil. And the matter is clinched when we see that in one of the two other instances of *qualis erat* in Statius, in *Thebaid* 10, there is an undoubted allusion to Hector's appearance in *Aeneid* 2: the Argive augur Thiodamas tells how he has seen the priest Amphiaraüs coming back from the underworld in order to counsel his fellow-warriors to attack Thebes. He looked exactly the same as he did at the moment of his spectacular descent into Hades.

> Sed nunc certa fides. Modo me *sub nocte silenti*
> ipse, ipse adsurgens iterum tellure soluta,
> **qualis erat** (solos *infecerat umbra iugales*),
> Amphiaraus adit: non uanae monstra *quietis*,
> nec *somno* comperta loquor.
>
> (Stat. *Theb.* 10.202–6)

> But now I have sure proof. Just now in the silence of the night he, he in person, rising through the earth that parted once again, even as he was (the shade had touched only his team), Amphiaraüs came to me. I speak not of phantoms of vain repose or things perceived in sleep.

The reference to Amphiaraüs' horses (204) is another allusion to Hector dragged around the walls (*raptatus bigis* in *A.* 2.272), and Thiodamas' emphatic denial that he saw Amphiaraüs in a dream (206–7) rather suggests that the phrase *is* a deliberate reminiscence, but with the purpose of contrast: Aeneas did see Hector in his dream, *uisus adesse mihi* (2.271); in both passages *quies* and *somnum* are mentioned. Note that Amphiaraüs is not tainted by the black shadow, only his horses are, whereas Hector himself is deadly black.[10] Thiodamas and Amphiaraüs are counterfigures to Aeneas and Hector, not *pius* and trying to save their city, but possessed by *furor*. Statius' seer does not advice to flee one's own city taken by the enemy, but to attack the city of the enemy. And what follows is not a succession of acts of Trojan *pietas*, but Statius tells how the Argives indulge in barbaric

[9] Cf. Vessey 1986, 2769 and following, esp. 2773–83, who claims that Marcellus is an important theme in 2.1, drawing attention also to that of *anagnorisis* (2774). I add that in the Underworld Melior's friend Blaesus *magnaque ligat ceruice* the dead boy (2.1.102), thus inviting comparison with Aeneas *magna patrem ceruice uehenti* in *Silv.* 3.3.188 later on (in spite of differences between these two passages, the combination *magna ceruice* is used advisedly).

[10] *quies* in *A.* 2.268, *somnis* in 2.270, Hector is *ater* in 2.272; for the association of the word with the Underworld, see André 1949, 56–9, 362–3.

slaughter, a story which imitates quite another part of Virgil and Homer, the story of Euryalus and Nisus in Book 9 and the *Doloneia* of *Iliad* 10.[11] So cross-reference with Statius' own epic makes it clear that *qualis erat* in the *Silvae* is indeed a Virgilian allusion, here re-shaped to its primary example, the appearance of Patroclus in Achilles' dream in the twenty-second book of the *Iliad*, where Patroclus, like Glaucias, did look as young and beautiful as he was when he died.[12] Earlier, in *Silvae* 2.1.88–94, Statius already compared the dead boy to Achilles and also to the young warrior Pallas, both accompanied by their foster-fathers instead of their real parents. Thereby the small slave-boy Glaucias, *deliciae* of his foster-father Melior, changes into one of the young warriors of the *Iliad* and the *Aeneid*, a *Heldenknabe*.[13] And this is underscored by the description of his death, which, not unnaturally, includes some elements from similar descriptions in epic.[14] Thus the two words *qualis erat* add something to the more explicit comparisons, and show how Statius can infuse a common event in the real world, the death of a slave, with heroic pathos, merging the world of Domitianic Rome with Troy and the heroic past.

I now move on to "real" multiple imitation. My first example is from *Silvae* 1.4, *soteria Rutilii Gallici*, a thanksgiving for the recovery of Rutilius Gallicus, the urban prefect of Rome, written probably in 88, a poem that has often been discussed, especially because Rutilius and his career are known from several inscriptions.[15] The poem opens on Statius' exultant cries: the gods do exist, *and* they love the Emperor Domitian. Proof? His most loyal servant Rutilius has recovered from a near-fatal illness. Now all of Rome may exult; for its new era, which has just been inaugurated by the Secular Games [in 88], did not begin with a crime (1–18). Statius asks for inspiration not from Apollo, god of poetry and healing, or from others such as the Muses or Mercury, but from Rutilius himself, a great poet in his own right

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[11] Cf. Juhnke 1976, 144–7, who emphasizes Statius' use of both Homer and Virgil.

[12] *Iliad* 22.65–8 and following; cf. Austin's commentary at *A.* 2.268–97. *Silvae* 2.1 ends on Glaucias' appearance in his master's dreams.

[13] The address of the other dead slave-boy, Philetus, in 2.6.34, *qualis eras*, mirrors, as it were, 2.1.158: the context is, again, Achilles, but the phrase *qualis eras* refers to the beauty of the *living* boy, who is compared to the girlish Achilles hidden on Scyros (*Achilleid*, not *Thebaid*) and to beardless Troilos fleeing (not Hector, but) Achilles.

[14] Cf. van Dam 1984, 140–3.

[15] See especially Hardie 1983, 187–9; Henderson 1998; Nauta 2002a, 206–11 (with references to the discussion of Rutilius' *cursus honorum*).

(19–37).[16] The poet tells us of the anxious days when Rutilius lay ill: the whole of Rome gathered at his home, senators, knights and plebs, and worried more than earlier generations did over King Numa on his deathbed, or over Pompey and Brutus. Statius now praises Rutilius for his excellent character, most of all for his unfailing efforts on behalf of the emperor; these have completely exhausted him (38–57). Now Apollo and his son Asclepius are introduced, in the present tense, and they take over the stage (*tunc ... signat*, 58–9). This is one of those mythological "insets'" in the *Silvae*, where the scene changes and (demi)gods suddenly enter; a new narrative starts, often combined with a speech of praise:[17] *res gestae regumque deumque*, to be considered as epic elements. Apollo recites a *curriculum vitae* of Rutilius and concludes that, if anyone is worth saving, it is this deputy of the emperor, if only because Domitian asks for it, the emperor who held the Secular Games and honoured Apollo there with a solemn song. So both gods now leave in order to to look for herbs (59–105). During this whole speech poor Rutilius has been on the brink of death, but now the gods go to work and, helped by the patient himself, they have immediate success. In the rest of the poem Statius tells how during the illness he waited outside Rutilius' house, eager for news. Now that all is well, he is going to sacrifice to the gods, although he is too poor for anything but a little incense (115–31).

It is obvious that Horace's *Carmen Saeculare* is one of the privileged texts here, both verbally and factually, and this is underlined by references to his *Odes*, especially in the end, where Statius mentions his own poverty: often the gods appreciate an altar made of turf, and the sacrifice of some wheat (*sed saepe deis hos inter honores / caespes et exiguo placuerunt farra salino*).[18] On one level this means, of course, that Statius, more openly than elsewhere, asks Rutilius for material support. By implication, the allusions to Horace also equate Rutilius with Maecenas, thus implying the comparison of Domitian to Augustus, favourably of course, since Domitian's recent Games sur-

16 History has unfortunately robbed us of his poetry.

17 See also Coleman 1999.

18 For references to the *Ludi saeculares*, see *Silv.* 1.4.17–8, 96–7; also *mitis* in 1.4.16 together with Hor. *Saec.* 33 and Henderson 1998, 48; also *carmina ... sonuistis* in 1.4.97, and the role of Apollo in general in both poems. For references to the *Odes*, cf. *Silv.* 1.4.131 *caespes et exiguo placuerunt farre salino* with Hor. *Carm.* 3.23.17 *farre pio et saliente mica* (cf. 1.19.13; 3.8.4, and in general 2.13 on Maecenas' recovery). On Domitian's Secular Games, see Hardie 1996; Henderson 1998, 47–50.

passed those held by Augustus. In a “systematic” approach,[19] we may well say that this use of Horace produces a “Horatian *couleur locale* in an *heroic* context”, an epicizing of Horace. But I will leave the *Carmen Saeculare* aside, together with other verbal echoes of Sappho, Catullus, Virgil’s *Eclogues* and *Georgics*, and Horace’s *Satires*, in order to concentrate on epic allusion in the Apollo-Asclepius section.

> Si qua salutifero gemini **Chironis** in antro
> *herba*, tholo quodcumque tibi Troiana recondit
> Pergamus aut medicis felix Epidaurus harenis
> educat, *Idaea* profert quam *Creta* sub umbra
> *dictamni* florentis opem, quoque anguis abundat
> spumatu: iungam ipse manus atque omne benigne
> uirus, *odoriferis* Arabum quod doctus in aruis
> aut Amphrysiaco pastor de gramine carpsit.’
> Dixerat. inueniunt positos iam segniter artus
> pugnantemque animam; *RITU SE CINGIT UTERQUE*
> *PAEONIO* monstrantque simul parentque uolentes,
> donec letiferas uario *MEDICAMINE* pestes
> et suspecta mali <u>ruperunt nubila somni</u>.
> adiuuat ipse deos morboque ualentior omni
> occupat auxilium. *CITIUS* non arte refectus
> Telephus Haemonia, nec quae **metuentis Atridae**
> **saeua Machaonio coierunt uulnera suco.**[20]
>
> (Stat. *Silv.*1.4.98–114)

If there be any herb in Chiron’s health-giving cave, whatever Trojan Pergamus stores for you in your temple of fortunate Epidaurus in her healing sands, the virtue of the flower dittany that Crete brings forth under Ida’s foliage, the foam in which your snake abounds—I myself shall join my hands, and every salutary juice that shepherd was taught to gather on Arabia’s fragrant fields or I from Amphrysus’ herbage. He had spoken. They find the limbs lying in languor now, breath struggling. Both gird themselves Paeonian fashion and together they readily give and take advice until with various medicine they have broken the banes and the sinister cloud of unwholesome sleep. He himself assists the gods; stronger than all his malady, he anticipates their aid. No more swiftly was Telephus cured by Haemonian skill nor fearful Atrides’ cruel wounds closed by Machaon’s balm.

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[19] Hinds 1998, 135 and following, esp. 141–2.

[20] Italics refer to Virgil, bold type to Homer, small capitals to Silius, and underlining to Lucan.

This scene refers us first of all to the last book of the *Aeneid*, in a passage where the hero is wounded by an arrow, led outside the battle and cured.

> Ille retorto 400
> Paeonium in morem senior succinctus amictu
> multa manu medica Phoebique potentibus herbis
> nequiquam …
> …
> Nulla uiam Fortuna regit, nihil auctor Apollo 405
> subuenit …
> …
> Hic Venus indigno nati concussa dolore 411
> dictamnum genetrix Cretaea carpit ab Ida
> …
> … occulte medicans spargitque salubris 418
> ambrosiae sucos et odoriferam panacaeam.
> …
> "Non haec humanis opibus, non arte magistra 427
> proueniunt …
> maior agit deus …"
>
> (Verg. *A.* 12.400–29)

> The aged healer, with robe rolled back in Paeonian fashion, with healing hand and Phoebus' potent herbs works hard—in vain … No Fortune guides his path, no help does Apollo's counsel give … At this Venus, shaken by her son's cruel pain, with a mother's care plucks from the Cretan Ida dittany … with secret healing, and sprinkles ambrosia's healing juices and fragrant panaecea … "Not by mortal aid does this cure come, not by the art that guides me … a mightier one—a god—is at work."

The parallells are manifest: the physician Iapyx, beloved of Apollo and taught by him, tries to draw out the arrow, in vain, although he wears the same characteristic dress as both gods in Statius, and he uses Apollo's herbs as well.[21] But *here* another god intervenes, the hero's divine mother Venus, and she picks the flower dittany in Crete—the herb does not occur in poetry except in the two passages from Statius and Virgil, and this is the most explicit signal of intertextuality; further verbal echoes abound. Hidden in a cloud Venus descends and strews the herb into the physician's basin. And now the arrow comes loose without any effort.

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[21] The scene is represented on a Pompeian wall-painting from the Casa di Sirico, Museo Nazionale Napoli, nr. 9009.

Virgil in his turn imitated some scenes from Homer, notably from *Iliad* 4.127 and following, where Menelaos is wounded by an arrow. Machaon, physician and son of *Asclepius* (204), draws out the arrow, but an ugly wound remains, which he anoints with balm which he received from the centaur *Chiron* (219).

> αὐτὰρ ἐπεὶ ἴδεν ἕλκος, ὅθ᾽ ἔμπεσε πικρὸς ὀϊστός,
> αἷμ᾽ ἐκμυζήσας ἔπ᾽ ἄρ᾽ ἤπια φάρμακα εἰδὼς
> πάσσε, τά οἵ ποτε πατρὶ φίλα φρονέων πόρε Χείρων.
>
> (Hom. *Il.* 4.217–9)

> When he found the place where the sharp point had pierced the flesh, he sucked out the blood and skilfully applied a soothing ointment from the supply with which the friendly Chiron had equipped his father.

Statius signals his familiarity with Virgil's Greek pre-text by his reference to Chiron (98), and, more explicitly, by comparing Rutilius' recovery with that of Menelaos—*metuentis* translates ῥίγησεν in Homer (4.150 ῥίγησεν δὲ καὶ αὐτὸς ἀρηίφιλος Μενέλαος).[22] And Statius does so in his usual way, by stating that his object of praise surpasses that to which it is compared, thereby perhaps, implicitly, claiming superiority for himself and his new poetry as well.

"Wounded in battle and cured" is a minor "typical epic scene", and though I have not found one in Statius' own epic, there is another instance in Silius Italicus; in 1.4 Statius includes an allusion to that scene as well.

> Tum proauita ferens leni MEDICAMINA dextra
> OCIUS, intortos DE MORE ASTRICTUS AMICTUS
> mulcebat lympha purgatum sanguine uulnus.
>
> (Sil. 5.366–8)

> Now with healing hand he brought the remedies his ancestors had used; his garments were wound tightly around his loins, as the customs of physicians is; and quickly he cleansed the wound of blood and soothed it by washing.

Hannibal's brother Mago is wounded, by a spear this time, and a Punic physician comes to his aid, a certain Synhalus. His knowledge of medicine is ultimately derived from the Lybian god Ammon. The verbal parallells are not very obvious (*medicamina*, *ocius*, *de more astrictus amictus*), but Statius did point the way earlier in this poem—just as he signalled that *qualis erat* is Virgilian by some earlier allusions to

[22] More details in Knauer 1979, 428.

the *Aeneid* in *Silvae* 2.1: the scene in Silius takes place at the battle of Lake Trasumennus, where the Romans suffered such a crushing defeat in 217 BC. In summing up Rutilius' career Apollo mentioned a succesful mission to Lybia when Rutilius succeeded in collecting an enormous sum of tax-money (we are not told how exactly he did this, and perhaps it is best not to know). Apollo represents this as a revenge for the defeats in the beginning of the Second Punic War, for example that at Lake Trasumennus, and thus refers us to the scene in Silius.

> Libyci quid mira tributi
> obsequia et missum media de pace triumphum
> laudem et opes, quantas nec qui mandauerat ausus
> expectare fuit [gaudet Trasimennus et Alpes]
> attollam cantu? Gaudet Trasimennus et Alpes
> Cannensesque animae; primusque insigne tributum
> ipse palam laeta poscebat Regulus umbra …
>
> (Stat. *Silv.* 1.4.83–8)

> Why praise the wondrous compliance of Libya's tribute, triumph sent to Rome from the midst of peace, and exalt in song such wealth as not even he that commissioned you had dared expect *** Trasimene and the Alps and the ghosts of Cannae rejoice, and first of all Regulus himself appeared, his happy shade taking note of the splendid tribute

In recognizing these pre-texts, we see that Statius represents Rutilius' critical illness as a battle, one where Rome is at peril. Virgil and Silius, or Aeneas and Mago, present two sides of the same coin: Aeneas' injury is (more or less) the last retardation of the *Aeneid.* As soon as he is cured, Aeneas goes after Turnus until he kills him, and thereby safeguards the founding of Rome. Hannibal and his brother Mago, although wounded, defeat Rome, and her fall seems at hand. But Rome's fateful mission will not allow the victory of these barbarian criminals; this story turns out differently. Mago is pictured as indifferent to his wound, not to say *impius:* whether or not he is cured is unimportant, he states, the main thing is that he has just killed his Roman opponent Appius.[23] *Pius Aeneas*, on the other hand, is eager to join the battle and do his duty (12.430 *auidus pugnae*). Throughout his poem Statius emphasizes the importance of Rutilius for Rome, he "with

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23 … *Iacet Appius hasta / ad manis pulsus nostra. Si uita relinquat, / sat nobis actum est: sequar hostem laetus ad umbras* (373–5).

whom resides the gentle ward of fear-free Rome”,[24] and Statius harps on the anxiety of the whole city; the Apollo-scene condenses that thought: Rutilius becomes a hero necessary for the safety of Rome, and therefore the gods save him.

In telling us how all of Rome worried about Rutilius Statius stated:

> Quae tum patrumque equitumque notaui
> lumina et ignarae plebis lugere potentes!
> Non labente Numa timuit sic Curia felix,
> Pompeio nec celsus eques nec femina Bruto
>
> (Stat. *Silv.* 1.4.39–42)

> What luminaries of Senate and Knights did I then note, and the common folk not wont to mourn the powerful. Not so afraid was the flourishing Senate House when Numa was failing, nor the noble Knights for Pompey, nor the women for Brutus.

Here we recognise another subtext, the famous dream of Pompey in Lucan: on the eve of the battle of Pharsalus Pompey dreams that he is a young *eques* again and sits in his own theatre in Rome, cheered by the whole population:

> sic Romam Fortuna dedit. Ne rumpite somnos,
> castrorum uigiles …
> …
> Donassent utinam superi patriaeque tibique
> unum, Magne, diem, quo fati certus uterque
> extremum tanti fructum raperetis amoris.
> …
> Te mixto flesset luctu iuuenisque senexque
> iniussusque puer; lacerasset crine soluto
> pectora femineum ceu Bruti funere uolgus.
>
> (Luc. 7.24–39)

> Thus Fortune granted him Rome. Break not his sleep, watchmen of the camp … One day, at least the gods should have granted to him and to his country, on on which each, with knowledge of the future, might have snatched the last enjoyment of their great love for me … young and old, blending their grief, would have mourned for him and even children uncompelled; the crowd of women would have let down their hair and torn their breasts, as when Brutus was buried.

In 24 Lucan echoes a line from “our” scene in the *Aeneid* (*Nulla uiam Fortuna regit*, 12.204), and that may have triggered Statius’ allusion

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[24] *quem penes intrepidae mitis custodia Romae* (16); cf. 9–14, 38–42 (*Vrbis amor … curia … eques*), 47–8, 91 (*depositam … Vrbem*), 95–6.

to this passage. Words and concepts from the dream-scene echo in Statius' four lines,[25] but the allusion is made explicit in lines 41–2, where Statius quotes Lucan in mentioning the grief of women for Brutus the first consul[26]—and, interestingly, adds Pompey himself, mourned by the fellow *equites* from his own dream.[27] As Lucan says, Pompey's last happy moment on earth, his dream, must not be disturbed (24)—while he leaves his readers no doubt that it is only an empty illusion (*uana ... imagine*, 8): on the following day Caesar will defeat Pompey, and thereby defeat Rome herself.[28] In Statius, on the other hand, Rutilius lies in an *insidiosa quies et pigra obliuio uitae* (= *lethargia*: "insidious rest and sluggish oblivion of life", 57), an unwholesome sleep (*mali somni*, 110), from which he must be waked.[29] And the gods do break his sleep: they and Rutilius himself save Rome. The one day in Rome which the gods should have granted Pompey falls to Rutilius, and in the process becomes infinitely multiplied.[30]

Statius' poem is a strange blend of a thanksgiving for the cure of the prime minister and a mythological narative which includes a long encomium. Apollo is abruptly introduced with the phrase *tunc deus ... respicit* (58–60). Was he there for the whole of Rome to see and even hear? It rather seems that the poet is in the privileged position of seeing both worlds at the same time. This interpenetration of the human and the supernatural occurs in many poems of the *Silvae*, and it is, I think, underscored by the allusions to the heroic world of epic past.

The second example is from *Silvae* 3.4, a poem written for Domitian's freedman, cupbearer, and favourite Earinus when his first hair was cut, and sent to his home-town Pergamum as a dedication to the main god there, Asclepius. Earinus was brought from Pergamum to Domitian's palace at an early age, by Venus. There he was castrated in order to preserve his beauty—Domitian's edict against castration had

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[25] Luc. 7.10 *innumerae ... plebis*, 13 *populi ... fauentis*, 18 *plaudente senatu*, 19 *Romanus eques*, 20 *anxia mens*, 37 *iuuenisque senexque* echoed by *patrumque equitumque* in Statius.

[26] Liv. 2.7.4 *matronae annum ut parentem eum* (= Brutum) *luxerunt*.

[27] Cf. Luc. 7.44 *qui te non pleno pariter planxere theatro*, the end of the scene—although in a different context.

[28] Note *Romanae ... plebis* (10), *Romanus eques* (19), *Romam Fortuna dedit* (24), *tua Roma* (29), *Ausonia ... in urbe* (32).

[29] *quies* in Luc. 7.22, *somnos* in 24.

[30] 1.4.125–7 *hic uitae natalis erit. Tu Troica dignus / saecula et Euboici transcendere pulueris annos / Nestoreosque situs*.

not yet been issued. The physician-god of his home-town himself carried out the operation, with the utmost care. Since the boy was a eunuch, he had no beard to be dedicated, but his locks were cut by Cupids, gathered by Venus herself and put into a golden box donated by the Cupids. This box had a mirror in it, and as soon as Earinus looked in it, his beautiful image was fixed there and the box sent to Pergamum.

The poem is multigeneric: it has been described as an "expanded anathematic epigram",[31] but it is also a *propempticon*,[32] and the long central panel, opening with *dicitur* (21), the typical introduction of epic story-telling, is epic or represents a footnote reference to epic. Much has been written about this little poem,[33] but I will leave most of that aside now, in order to concentrate on the scene where Venus discovers the beautiful boy in front of Asclepius' altar in Pergamum, takes him into her swan-drawn chariot and brings him to Rome, and just before he enters Domitian's palace beautifies him.

> Tunc propior iam cura deae, quae forma capillis,
> optima, quae uestis roseos *accendere uultus*
> apta, quod in digitis, *collo* quod dignius aurum.
> …
> Sic *ornat* crines, *Tyrios* sic fundit amictus,
> dat *radios ignemque suum*[34]
>
> (Stat. *Silv.* 3.4.50–6)

> Then it becomes the goddess' closer care how best to arrange his locks, what dress is meet to kindle his rosy countenance, what gold is worthiest on his fingers, what on his neck. So she decks the hair, so drapes him with Tyrian raiment, gives him beams of her own fire.

Here Statius imitates a well-known epic scene, that in which a goddess makes the hero more beautiful before a significant encounter. The scene originates with Homer, who has it twice, in identical terms: when Odysseus dresses himself after his encounter with Nausicaä, the goddess Athena makes him taller, more beautiful and radiant, and she

[31] Hardie 1983, 121; see Cairns 1972, 89 (but *Silv.* 3.4 is missing in his list on p. 283): *dedicarem* in 3.*ep.*19–20; 3.4.6 *accipe*, 6–7 *crines … donat*, 11 *ponet*, 100–5 prayer at the end.

[32] 1–3 *ite … ite*, 1 good wishes: *precor*, 3 *Cytherea*, see Hor. *Carm.* 1.3.

[33] See a.o. Vessey 1973, 28–36; Garthwaite 1984; Verstraete 1989; Laguna 1992; Pederzani 1995; Henriksén 1997; Nauta 2002a, 426 and following; Newlands 2002, 105 and following, with Morgan's Bryn Mawr Review.

[34] Italics refer to Virgil, underlining to Valerius Flaccus.

does so again before he is revealed in his (therefore not quite) true form to his wife Penelope.[35] Statius may use the word *fundit* (55) as a reminiscence of the Homeric words κατέχευε and ἔχευε in these scenes (*Od.* 6.235, 23.154). But his prime example, as the verbal parallells show, is the passage in *Aeneid* 1 where Aeneas bursts forth from the cloud which his mother Venus had put around him, and stands before Dido in the new temple which he just admired, divinely beautiful thanks to his mother's care:

> Vix ea fatus erat, cum circumfusa repente
> scindit se nubes et in aethera purgat apertum.
> Restitit Aeneas *claraque in luce* refulsit,
> *os umerosque* deo similis; namque ipsa decoram
> *caesariem* nato genetrix lumenque iuuentae
> *purpureum* et laetos *oculis* adflarat honores
>
> (Verg. *A.* 1.586–91)

> Scarce had he said this, when the encircling cloud suddenly parts ansd clears into open heaven. Aeneas stood forth, gleaming in the clear light, godlike in face and shoulders; for his mother herself had shed upon her son the beauty of flowing locks, with youth's ruddy bloom, and on his eyes a joyous lustre.

The verbal parallels (in italics) are clear enough, but in case a reader failed to recognize the epic pre-text, Statius had already referred him to the *Aeneid* by mentioning the home of King Euander, where Virgil in Book 8 brought Aeneas in order to compare Rome's humble beginnings to the splendours of its Augustan successor.

> Nec mora. Iam Latii montes ueterisque penates
> Euandri, quos mole noua pater inclitus orbis
> excolit et summis aequat Germanicus astris.
>
> (Stat. *Silv.* 3.4.47–9)

> In a trice there are the Latian hills and the home of ancient Evander, that Germanicus, renowned father of the world, adorns with new masonry and levels with the topmost stars.

It is clear that Statius' Venus does not so much say that Domitian's magnificent new palace is superior to the *tecta ... pauperis Euandri* (*A.* 8.359–60), but rather implies that it surpasses the palace of her own descendant Augustus. In the same vein her presence as *pronuba*

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[35] *Odyssey* 6.229 and following = 23.156 and following; cf. Knauer 1979 (2nd ed.), 397. Compare the comic version in Ov. *Met.* 2.731 and following, where Mercurius dolls himself up.

at the wedding of Domitian and Domitia (53–4 *ipsaque taedas iunxerat*) means Domitian's superiority over Augustus.[36]

The Homeric and Virgilian scenes were also used by Valerius Flaccus (rather than Apollonius' short version of it in 3.919 and following),[37] when Juno beautifies Jason before he meets Medea.

> … At Iuno, pulchrum longissima quando
> robur cura ducis magnique edere labores,
> mole noua et roseae perfudit luce iuuentae.
> Iam Talaum iamque Ampyciden astroque comantes
> Tyndaridas ipse egregio supereminet ore.
> Non secus autumno quam cum magis asperat ignes
> Sirius et saeuo cum nox accenditur auro
> luciferas crinita faces, hebet Arcas et ingens
> Iuppiter.
>
> (V. Fl. 5.363–71)

> But Juno, since long anxiety and heavy toil had taken from the leader the beauty of his strength, shed over him new might and the sheen of roseate youth. And now in peerless aspect he outdoes Talaus and Ampycides and the sons of Tyndareus with star-illumined hair, just as when Sirius in autumn sharpens yet his fires, and his angry gold gleams in the shining tresses of the night, the Arcadian and great Jupiter grow dim.

Just as earlier in the case of Silius, the verbal parallels are perhaps not cogent: *perfudit* (365) and especially the word *roseus* (365; Stat. *Silv.* 3.4.51), which Valerius employs in a conspicuous way; the combination with *iuuenta* is the only instance in Latin where *roseus* is used with an abstract noun. The reminiscences *comantes* ~ *crinita* ~ *crines* and *ignes* ~ *ignem* underline the association of Earinus-Jason with a star. But here again, Statius pointed to Valerius earlier in his poem, when he compared Earinus, favourably as always, to a number of beautiful boys from mythology all from Asia Minor: Endymion (Latmius), Attis (Sangarius), Narcissus and Hylas.

> … Cedet tibi Latmius ultro,
> Sangariusque puer, quemque irrita fontis imago

[36] Laguna 1992, 324–5 rather sees an allusion to Roman weddings in the *flammeum* here, the veil worn by brides, and the *sex crines*, a particular way to do the hair on the marriage day; this seems too specific to me, and less prominent than the epic allusions.

[37] On *Aeneid* 1.590 and following, and all its Homeric and Apollonian pre-texts, see Nelis 2001, 88–90.

et sterilis consumpsit amor. Te caerula Nais
mallet et adprensa traxisset fortius urna.

(Stat. *Silv.* 3.4.40–3)

The boys of Latmos and Sangaris shall freely yield to you, and he that a vain image in a fountain and a barren love consumed. The cerulean naiad would have preferred you and seized your urn in a stronger grip to drag you down.

Valerius described the rape of Hylas in *Argonautica* 5:

tale iubar diffundit aquis. Nil umbra comaeque
turbauitque sonus surgentis ad oscula nymphae.
Illa auidas iniecta manus heu sera cientem
auxilia et magni referentem nomen amici
detrahit

(V. Fl. 3.560–4)

So he shed a gleam upon the waters. He heeds not the shadow of the nymph or her hair or the sound of her as she rises to embrace him. Greedily casting her ars around him, as he calls alas!) too late for help and utters the name of his mighty friend, she draws him down.

In Valerius Flaccus, the disappearance of Hylas is described at length, until he is finally dragged into the water, but there is no mention of any urn, indeed that would have been an unwieldy thing for Hylas to carry with him, since he was pursuing a deer when he reached this pool. However, in the first book of the *Argonautica* Valerius describes how the seer Mopsus foresees some disaster of the impending voyage, and there is not only the blue-green colour, but Hylas, *with* his urn—and his beautiful hair, the subject of Statius' poem, *crines*.

Subita cur pulcher harundine crines
uelat Hylas? Vnde urna umeris niueosque per artus
caeruleae uestes?

(V. Fl. 1.218–20)

Why does beautiful Hylas cover his hair with sudden reeds? Whence comes the urn on his shoulders and the cerulean garment on his snowy body?

Again Statius combines at least two Latin epic poets and a Greek one, the first,Virgil, more explicitly, and Valerius by the help of a hint given earlier in the poem.

So far we have seen several scenes where the hero, a grown man, looking his best because a goddess helps him, encounters a significant other. Up to a point Statius wants to present Earinus also as an epic

hero ready to meet a lover: he is Domitian's *deliciae*, and in distinction to most critics I do not think that either the sexual relationship implied or the fact that he was a eunuch marked him, or the emperor, out for censure.[38] Another scene from the *Aeneid* which is in the background here emphasizes Earinus' role as a young boy. That is the passage somewhat further on in the first book in the *Aeneid*, when Venus lifts Ascanius and takes him with her to the woods of Cyprus.

> At Venus Ascanio placidam per membra quietem
> inrigat, et fotum gremio dea *tollit* in altos
> *Idaliae lucos*, ubi *mollis* amaracus illum
> floribus et dulci adspirans complectitur umbra.
>
> (Verg. *A.* 1.691–4)

> But Venus pours over the limbs of Ascanius the dew of gentle repose and, fondling him in het bosom, uplifts him with divine power to Idalia's high groves, where soft marjoran enwraps him in flowers and the breath of its sweet smell.

Statius underlines the Aeneadean connection by the large detour which his Venus makes on her way from Sicily to Cyprus, by way of Trojan Pergamum,[39] where she finds the beautiful boy.

> Dicitur *Idalios* Erycis de uertice *lucos*
> dum petit et *molles* agitat Venus aurea cygnos,
> Pergameas intrasse domos
>
> (Stat. *Silv.* 3.4.21–3)

> It is said that as golden Venus was driving her soft swans on her way from Eryx' height to the Idalian groves, she entered the Pergamene dwelling [of Asclepius]

Struck by his beauty she addresses and then abducts him:

[38] On *deliciae* as a normal phenomenon, see van Dam 1984, 72–3. Statius mentions Domitian's *deliciae* as a matter of course (57). Eunuchs had been a fashion in Rome for some time: Maecenas had two eunuchs as bodyguards, cf. Sen. *Ep.* 114.4. For eunuchs at the court of Claudius and Nero, see Suet. *Claud.* 28, 54.2; *Galba* 15.2; Tac. *Ann.* 12.66.5. Titus is said to be a great admirer of eunuchs by Dio 67.2.2–3, who (improbably) claims that hatred of his brother was why Domitian abolished castration. For eunuchs in general, see *RE* Suppl. 3, 449–55, on religious aspects and technical details of castration *ERE* 5.579–84, on special cases Courtney on Juv. 6.366.

[39] Cf. e.g. *Pergama* in *A.* 1.466, 651.

Sic orsa leues secum ipsa per auras,
tollit

(Stat. *Silv*. 4.3.45–6)

So saying she lifts him by her side through the light air

Throughout the poem the fact that Earinus is a mere boy gets most attention by far: *puer* and its cognates occur eleven times, nine out of which refer to Earinus.[40] In distinction from the case of Rutilius Gallicus, I think that here the central mythological panel with its references to to Virgil and similar epic pre-texts does *not* concur with the overall tendency of the poem, but rather clashes. There the epic references emphasize the message of the poem, here they complicate it. The central panel in 3.4 contains several "heroic", epical allusions to Domitian and to his superiority over Augustus, and this is underscored by some references elsewhere in the poem,[41] but the overall atmosphere of the poem as a whole, with its Cupids, beautiful boys and hair is, if anything, Ovidian. And I think that Statius signals this by employing the Ovidian word *capillus* in 50. Statius follows the other epic authors in his use of words for "hair", an important motif in his work. That is to say, he strongly avoids the "un-poetic" word *capillus*, which occurs only three times in his whole work, in favour of *coma* (90 times) and *crinis* (84). The only epic poet with a clear-cut preference for *capillus* over *coma* and *crinis* is Ovid.[42] Apart from this signal, the reference to Narcissus in 41, *quem irrita fontis imago et sterilis consumpsit amor*, is unmistakably Ovidian, and points forward to the end of this poem, with the Ovidian, or Wildean, conceit of the boy's mirror-image (*imagine*, 98) enclosed into the box. This miracle is wrought by a love-god, a Cupid, and it creates love, of the boy for his imperial lover for whom he asks, and gets, a long long life.[43] Just as in the poem about Rutilius, mythology and real life interpenetrate: Earinus' hair *was* sent to Pergamum—Statius was explicitly asked to write a poem for the occasion (3.*ep.*16–20); Martial's poems also testify to

[40] In 7, 26, 31, 36, 43, 60, 68, 72, 99; in 41 and 93 for another boy.

[41] Not only that to Euander and Rome: note also the post-Virgilian unanimity of *Iupiter Ausonius Romanaque Iuno* (18; modesty is reserved for the end of the *Thebaid*), the *Ausonias … arces* (32), heirs to *Priami arx alta*, also 60–3.

[42] See Axelson 1945, 51; Cancik 1984, 2688.

[43] At the end of the poem, when the propempticon takes over again. Several scholars have seen fit to remark that Statius is the inventor of photography, a.o. Henry, Damsté and Shackleton Bailey.

it (9.16, 9.17, 9.36, cf. 9.11–3). And he really *was* castrated. Statius' is the only description of such an operation in Latin poetry as far as I know.[44] If there is a certain tension between those epic subtexts suggesting a heroic lover (Aeneas and Jason), and other texts emphasizing the beautiful *eromenos* (Hylas, Ganymedes, Ascanius, Narcissus), this is more or less the same tension as in the *Achilleid*, but the other way round. Moreover, this tension is iconic for what the poem is about, the passage from child to grown-up.

I can only touch upon a last example of multiple imitation, in *Silvae* 3.1, the building of a new temple for Hercules by Statius' patron Pollius Felix. Here the generic sources have been excellently discussed and the epic pre-texts signalled by Gabriel Laguna in his commentary. I only point out that, apart from all other genres (hymn, satire, tragedy, comedy, aetiological poetry),[45] this poem has a whole series of typical scenes from epic: an invocation to the Muse Calliope within the poem (*episches Binnenprooem*),[46] an *episches Unwetter*,[47] epic games at the end of the poem (139–53), and the building of the temple itself in 117–39. This again has twofold epic examples: first the cutting of the trees, as in the *Iliad*, Ennius, the *Aeneid*, Lucan, (more than once in) the *Thebaid*, and Silius Italicus.[48] And that of building a temple proper, notably Dido's new temple in *Aeneid* 1. That passage in its turn points us to the forging of Aeneas' shield in *Aeneid* 8.

Non tam grande sonat motis incudibus Aetne,
cum *Brontes Steropesque* ferit, nec maior ab *antris*

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[44] That Statius both describes the castration and praises Domitian's later edict against it (65–77), has provoked much debate (see the authors mentioned in note 33). Most scholars detect at least some criticism, others go much further. I leave this aside, stating only that I agree with most of what Nauta says. I add that the fact alone that Statius not only mentions the castration openly, but even describes it at some length, means that both views could be held by a courtier: it was an accepted way of keeping boys' beauty, especially for the emperor, and it was good that the emperor abolished this painful practice. Moreover, the poet emphasizes that this operation was virtually painless. Elsewhere I will elaborate on my earlier interpretation of this scene.

[45] See Laguna 1992, 118–22.

[46] 3.1.49–51; cf. esp. Verg. *A.* 9.525; Laguna 1992, 146 with more examples, also for Calliope and epic. The phrase *socius tibi grande sonabit / Alcides* (50–1) characterises what follows as epical.

[47] 71–6 and Laguna 1992, also his p. 220. Statius explicitly connects this thunderstorm with that of *Aeneid* 4.160–8: *qualem … Saturnia nimbum / attulit, Iliaco dum diues Elissa marito / donatur testesque ululant per deuia nymphae* (73–5), but he also refers us to the opening storm of *A.*1.81 and following.

[48] Leeman 1982.

Lemniacis fragor est ubi *flammeus* aegida caelat
Mulciber et castis exornat Pallada[49] donis.

(Stat. *Silv.* 3.1.130–4)

Not so loud does Etna resound when the anvils shake at Brontes' and Steropes' blows, nor greater is the din from Lemnos' caverns when fiery Mulciber embosses an aegis, adorning Pallas with chastegifts.

The builders of Dido's city in *Aeneid* 1 are compared to the bees of *Georgics* 4, who in turn are compared to Cyclopes,[50] but Statius refers above all to the Cyclopes of Virgil in *Aeneid* 8:

antra *Aetnaea tonant*, ualidique *incudibus* ictus
auditi referunt gemitus, striduntque *cauernis*
stricturae Chalybum et *fornacibus ignis* anhelat,
Volcani domus et Volcania nomine tellus.
Hoc tunc *ignipotens* caelo descendit ab alto.
ferrum exercebant uasto Cyclopes in antro,
Brontesque Steropesque et nudus membra Pyragmon.

(Verg. *A.* 8.419–25)

the galleries of Etna resound, and the groans from the anvils are heard echoing the heavy blows, and masses of Chalybean steel hiss in the caverns, and fire breathes through the furnaces. It is Vulcan's home and called Vulcania. Here then the god with the power of fire descended from the heavens. In the huge cave the Cyclopes, Brontes, Steropes, and bare-limbed Pyracmon, were forging iron.[51]

Non tam grande sonat: in 130 Statius refers back to 50–1 *tibi grande sonabit / Alcides* and again claims epic qualities for his poem, surpassing the *Aeneid* in one of its most thundering passages.[52]

The main point of the poem seems to be the equation of its dedicatee Pollius Felix with Hercules; the god addresses him with *macte animis opibusque meos imitate labores* ("hail to your spirit and your wealth, imitator of my labours", 166). Thus the Epicurean Pollius is a philosopher of heroic stature, a benefactor of mankind, able, like Hercules and Epicurus, to overcome death: *duram scio uicere mortem*

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[49] *Pallada* since the Cyclopes are working on her aegis in *A.* 8.435, perhaps also because she had a temple near Pollius' villa (2.2.2, 117).

[50] Verg. *A.* 1.430–6; *G.* 4.170–3. *A.* 1.437 *o fortunati quorum nunc moenia surgunt* fits Pollius and Polla for whom a temple is built, and who are protected from mourning and bereavement by the god (*Silv.* 3.1.173).

[51] Translation by A.S. Kline at www.tkline.freeserve.co.uk.

[52] Note the Callimachean poetical reference to epic in *tonare*.

says Hercules (172), and that associates Pollius also with the receiver of the shield Aeneas.[53]

In conclusion: Statius in the *Silvae* often brings Virgil into play, sometimes by just two words, then again by a volley of scenes and associations. In several poems long narrative mythological insets occur, embellished by speeches, where epic scenes from more than one author are imitated at the same time; less conspicuous pre-texts are regularly announced by a hint earlier in the poem. This multiple imitation may emphasize the main point of the poem, as in the case of Pollius Felix and of Rutilius Gallicus, the epic hero who battles for the survival of a Rome that, thanks to the emperor Domitian, surpasses Augustan Rome. Other instances are less clear-cut, such as that of Earinus; there the Virgilian and Ovidian, the heroic and ambiguous, keep each other at bay.

[53] On Hercules as a benefactor of mankind, but surpassed by Epicurus according to Lucr. 5.22 and following, and on the philosophical (not exclusively Stoic) associations of Hercules, see van Dam 1984, 208.

12. STATIUS' OVIDIAN POETICS AND THE TREE OF ATEDIUS MELIOR (*SILVAE* 2.3)[1]

Philip Hardie

Ovidian trees and birds: Silvae *2.3 and 2.4*

Within the careful structure of Book 2 of the *Silvae* poems 3 and 4 form a concentrated Ovidian space, indicative, perhaps, of a literary taste shared with Statius by his patron Atedius Melior. 2.3, offered as a birthday present, a *genethliakon*, to Melior, invents an Ovidian-style narrative of erotic pursuit and quasi-metamorphosis, as an aetiology for a strangely shaped plane tree in the garden of Melior's house in Rome. *Silvae* 2.4 is a lament for the dead parrot of Melior, an unashamed parroting of Ovid's dead parrot poem, *Amores* 2.6. The connection between the two poems is reinforced by a punning allusion in the last line of 2.3. Statius' prayer for a long life for Melior is underwritten by Melior's own pious immortalization of his dead friend Blaesus through an endowment to the college of scribes, *collegium scribarum*, by which (2.3.76–7) ... *te sub teste situm fugitura tacentem / ardua magnanimi reuirescet gloria Blaesi*, "by your witness the lofty renown of great-souled Blaesus shall escape silent decay and be green again".[2] The last line of 2.4 also looks forward to a rebirth, that of the parrot, or of the parrot's glory (36–7) *senio nec fessus inerti / scandet odoratos phoenix felicior ignes*, "unwearied by sluggish age, he shall mount the perfumed pyre, a happier Phoenix". But the last word of 2.3, the name *Blaesi*, already adumbrates a connection between the two poems. *Tacentem*, "silent, mute", at the end of the penultimate line triggers the literal sense of Blaesus' name, "lisping, stammering" (just as the qualification, six lines before, of Melior as *optimus* (70) taps the meaning of the name Melior).[3] Ovid had applied

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[1] Versions of this paper were delivered at Corpus Christi College, Oxford, and at the 2003 Groningen Colloquium on Flavian Poetry; for their comments I am grateful to the audiences on both occasions, and to the editors of this volume.

[2] Translations of the *Silvae* are based more or less closely on Shacketon Bailey 2003.

[3] See Pederzani 1995, on 69 and 76; Nisbet 1995, 41. There may also be a pun on *blaesus* at *S.* 2.1.200–1 *mox ubi delicias et rari pignus amici / sensit et amissi puerum*

blaesus to his dead parrot's imitation of the human voice (*Am.* 2.6.24:[4] the first occurrence of the word as an adjective, according to McKeown); and *psittace* is the first word of *Silvae* 2.4. The last lines of *Silvae* 2.3 reveal a Statius already parroting his patron Melior, for the latter's gift to the college of scribes was for the purpose of founding an annual celebration of Blaesus' birthday, as we learn from Martial 8.38 (12 *ad natalicium diem colendum*), just as *Silvae* 2.3 celebrates the birthday of Melior. But if *Silvae* 2.3 at its close anticipates the following poem's trope of parrot-like imitation, its own preferred tropes both of praise and of imitation, are rebirth and reflection.

Melior's tree. Metamorphosis and reflections

In *Silvae* 2.3 a fast-moving narrative of 55 lines is framed by two passages of static description. The first (1–5) is an ecphrasis of the feature in the contemporary landscape, the curiously shaped plane tree by the pool. The second passage of description (62–77), after offering the poem as a birthday present to Melior, praises the settled and virtuous—but paradoxical—disposition of the honorand. The poem operates with a twofold set of metaphorical equivalences (many of them well analysed in the commentaries of van Dam and Pederzani), constituting the aetiological deposit, as it were, of the mythical narrative. Firstly, the enduring relationship between the tree and the pool in the garden landscape, described in the initial ecphrasis, perpetuates elements of Pan's pursuit of the nymph. Secondly, the closing description of the character of Melior reflects aspects of the ensemble of tree and pool, and of the narrative thereby memorialised, with the further result that the two framing descriptions, of physical landscape feature and abstract qualities of soul, also reflect each other. This reflection is already signalled in the first line, *Stat quae perspicuas nitidi Melioris opacet / arbor aquas*, "There stands a tree which shades the clear waters of refined Melior": the near-equivalent epithets *perspicuas*, "clear" (of the waters), and *nitidi*, "refined", literally "shining" (of

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solacia Blaesi: for *blaesus* of a *deliciae* cf. Mart. 5.34.7–8 (the dead Erotion) *inter iam ueteres ludat lasciua patronos / et nomen blaeso garriat ore meum.*

[4] *Am.* 2.6.23–4 *Non fuit in terris uocum simulantior ales: / reddebas blaeso tam bene uerba sono.*

Melior), mirror each other on either side of the caesura.[5] Melior is metamorphosed into something like the *genius loci* of his own garden.

"Trees *are* like people" [my emphasis], as Robin Nisbet says at the beginning of his discussion of the tree-felling scene in the *Hercules Oetaeus*.[6] However I would want to see in the combination in *Silvae* 2.3 of aetiology and metaphor a more specific response to the close relationship in Ovid's *Metamorphoses* between the narrative device of metamorphosis and the figure of metaphor.[7] The relationship of metamorphosis and metaphor has been at the centre of much recent Ovidian criticism.[8]

In Statius' narrative the nymph Pholoe flees from the lecherous Pan through a primitive Roman landscape. Exhausted, she sinks down on the future site of Melior's house. Diana, out hunting on the Aventine where the Roman king Servius Tullius will in time dedicate a temple to her, sees what is going on, and after a brief complaint at the unending threat to her virginal followers, arouses Pholoe by hurling an arrow at her, feathers first. Pholoe escapes into the pool. Pan, suffering the frustrations of an *exclusus amator* because of his inability to swim, responds by uprooting a young plane tree and replanting it by the side of the pool, as a lasting token of his desire. He instructs the tree to protect the pool from the violence of hail and sun, but to ruffle the surface with its falling leaves. Animated by the god's desire the tree stoops over the pool, "peering into the waters with loving shade" (55). The pool will not suffer the touch of the tree, which eventually breaks away from the water's surface, lifting itself upwards as if supported on a second trunk that descended into the depths of the pool.

The plane tree perpetuates both Pan's desire for the nymph and the frustration of that desire, emotions frozen in a landscape as is often the way with an Ovidian metamorphosis. The lower part of the trunk stoops lovingly over the pool, as Pan had first hung on the heels of the fleeing Pholoe, and then hovered by the waterside like a frustrated Polyphemus or Narcissus. The tree's falling leaves mimic the garlands

[5] Cf. *S.* 1.3.54 *nitidum* (of reflected light in the villa of Manilius Vopiscus); 92 *nitor* (of the character of Vopiscus).

[6] Nisbet 1995, 202.

[7] *Silvae* 2.3 can indeed be read as a patchwork of elements from a number of Ovidian tales in the *Metamorphoses*: Apollo and Daphne, Pan and Syrinx, Diana and Callisto, Narcissus, Pluto and Cyane, Alpheus and Arethusa; and also from the Priapus and Lotis story in *Fasti* 1.

[8] Hardie 2002, 228–9.

left at the door by the *exclusus amator*. Puns express the duality at the verbal level: 45 *preme frondibus undam*, "press the water with your foliage", hinting at the erotic sense of *premo*; 49 *recolam*, "I will call (you) to mind", but suggesting other meanings of *colo*, "cultivate" (the tree), "pay court to" (the girl). The longed-for erotic embraces of line 56 (*sperat et amplexus*) are thwarted, but the tree will for ever "embrace" the pool, 2 *arbor aquas complexa lacus*. The suspensions of a desire frozen on the point of its fulfilment, and of language balanced between the expression of an erotic relationship and of purely spatial relationships are part of a series continued in the suspensions of i) a marginality between land and water: the tree is doubly rooted, once on the bank, and once, in imaginary mode, in the water; a marginality recalled in epic mode in the tree by which Hippomedon tries to rescue himself from the raging river Ismenos at *Thebaid* 9.492–501, *undarum ac terrae dubio*, "poised between water and land";[9] and ii) the suspension between reality and reflection. For, through reflection the tree does fulfil its desire, at least in the realm of the imaginary. Unable physically to touch the object of desire, the tree struggles up, shooting skywards as a smooth straight rod, lifting itself (59–60) *ueluti descendat in imos / stirpe lacus alia*, "as if it descended into the depths of the pool with another trunk". The formerly drooping (54 *pendula*) tree now stands erect, away from the depths it wished to penetrate, condemned to eternal bachelordom, a *platanus caelebs*, "bachelor plane", in Horace's phrase (*Carm.* 2.15.4). But it does, in appearance, achieve that consummation (whether we regard that appearance as the image, reflected downwards, of its erect stem, or as the continuation that we may imagine of the straight trunk down to its submarine root). Image or imagination takes the place of the literal penetration found in another Ovidian tale of rape by the poolside, Pluto's abrupt response to Cyane's attempt to forbid his return passage downwards with his rape victim. The unspoken violation of Proserpina is displaced on to the opening of a passage through the pool, *Met.* 5.420–4 *Haud ultra tenuit Saturnius iram, / terribilesque hortatus equos in gurgitis ima / contortum ualido sceptrum regale lacerto / condidit; icta uiam tellus in Tartara fecit / et pronos currus medio cratere recepit*, "but Saturn's son restrained his anger no longer. Urging on his terrible steeds, and hurl-

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[9] *Theb.* 9.492–4 *Stabat gramineae producta crepidine ripae / undarum ac terrae dubio, sed amicior undis, / fraxinus ingentique uadum possederat umbra.*

ing his royal sceptre with his strong arm, he buried it in the bottom of the pool. At the blow the earth opened a way to Hades, and received the plunging chariot in the middle of the crater."[10]

The conclusion of the Statian narrative is an ingenious solution to the impasse, marked by the adjective *ingeniosa* (59), an adjective that "occurs 19 … times in Ovid, but is otherwise rather rare in poetry (Stat. *Silv.* 2.3.59 and 8 instances in Martial)",[11] and which is used by Ovid on several occasions of his own poetic *ingenium*, as well as that of others (including the dead parrot of *Amores* 2.16).[12] This halfway house to satisfied desire is summed up in the pointed contrast in the last sentence of the narrative, 60–1 *Nais … exclusos inuitat gurgite ramos*, with the further uncertainties of the alternative ways of construing these words: (with a separative ablative) "the nymph invites the branches she had shut out from her water", or (with an instrumental ablative) "she invites (or even "entertains") with her water the branches shut out".[13]

Pan plants a tree that through a quasi-metamorphosis establishes in the landscape an icon of the mythological narrative. That myth, one assumes, did not exist before *Silvae* 2.3. In fact, it is the poet Statius, through his ingenious poem, who plants in the garden of Melior a tree that embodies hopes for and reflects the character of the poet's patron, a character that has already expressed itself in Melior's own gift to the memory of Blaesus. Tree and patron alike are fixtures in the landscape. Pan promises a long life to the tree that he has planted (43 *uiue diu*, "live long", 49–50 *Tunc ego teque diu recolam dominamque benignae / sedis, et illaesa tutabor utramque senecta*, "Then will I long call you to mind, you and the mistress of the kindly dwelling, and guard both in an inviolate old age"); Statius prays for many happy re-

[10] For botanical metaphors for *mentula* see Adams 1982, 26–9; 57 *pensilis, pendula* of *mentula*; 72 *cacumen* of *glans*; cf. also Ov. *Am.* 3.7.15 *truncus iners iacui, species et inutile pondus* (reworking Hor. *S.* 1.8.1).

[11] McKeown on *Am.* 1.8.61–2.

[12] *Am.* 1.8.61–2 *Qui dabit, ille tibi magno sit maior Homero; / crede mihi, res est ingeniosa dare*; 3.8.8 *turpiter huc illuc ingeniosus eo*; *Tr.* 2.288 *in culpam siqua est ingeniosa suam*; 2.342 *inque meas poenas ingeniosus eram*; *Tr.* 5.1.28 *materia est propriis ingeniosa malis*; 74 *inter Sauromatas ingeniosus eram*; *Pont.* 2.5.64 *ingenioque faues, ingeniose, meo*. The parrot: *Am.* 2.6.18 *uox mutandis ingeniosa sonis*.

[13] For another paradoxical play with prefixes cf. Luc. 3.368–9 *Iam non excludere tantum, / inclusisse uolunt.*

turns for Melior (72–4), the wish for a long and flourishing (*florens*)[14] life whose fulfilment is already guaranteed (76–7) by Melior's own service in lending new green growth (*reuirescet*) to the *gloria Blaesi* (77), a "rebirth" comparable to that of the tree, whose strange shape makes it appear (4) *ceu mediis iterum nascatur ab undis*, "as though it were born anew from the midst of the water" (cf. 58–9 <u>*rursus*</u> .... *cacumen ... leuat*, "it raises its top back up"). The glory of Blaesus will tower aloft, *ardua* (77), like the plane tree (4). Melior himself is to "endure", *persta* (73), as the tree "stands fixed", *stat* (1).

The strange shape of this tree, fashioned by Statius into a birthday present for its owner Melior, has, so the poet would have it, its origins in a moment that marks, if not the birth in the sense of the germination or planting of the tree, then the even more important origin, for this tree, of the infusion of the soul into the body, 53 *illa dei ueteres animata calores*, "animated with the god's ancient flame".[15] This moment of ensoulment is also the masterstroke of Statian invention in this poem, whose success is to be measured by Statius' ability to "breathe life" into the plane tree. In the previous poem *animo* is used of the miraculously lifelike art of Apelles, the proud possessions of Pollius Felix, *Silv.* 2.2.64 *si quid Apellei gaudent animasse colores*, "whatever the colours of Apelles rejoice to animate". Statius dares to hope for a long life for this small poem, one of the "Silvae" (2.3.62–3): *Haec tibi parua quidem genitali luce paramus / dona, sed ingenti uictura sub aeuo*, "Such is the gift I make you on your birthday, small indeed but perhaps destined to live through vast stretch of time",[16] as the young plane tree will reach up to the heavens (39–40). The equation of poem and tree, as also the embodiment in the tree of the poet's feelings for his addressee, alludes to *Eclogue* 10, where Virgil asserts that the Muses will make his "small songs for Gallus", *pauca meo Gallo ... carmina* (2–3), into songs that are "very great for Gallus, Gallus, my love for whom grows hour by hour as fast as the green alder shoots up at the beginning of spring", *maxima Gallo, / Gallo, cuius amor tantum*

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[14] 72 *florens animi morumque iuuenta* may allude to *G.* 4.563–5 *illo Vergilium me tempore dulcis alebat / Parthenope studiis <u>florentem</u> ignobilis oti, / carmina qui lusi pastorum audaxque <u>iuuenta</u>*, where *florentem* hints that the virginal Virgil is a flower nurtured in his Epicurean *hortus conclusus* in Naples.

[15] Pederzani 1995, on 62: "L'occasione del compleanno ha di fatto informato l'intera struttura della silva". *Animo* in Ovid of metamorphosis: *Met.* 4.619; 14.566.

[16] Cf. *G.* 4.6–7 *In tenui labor; at tenuis non gloria, si quem / numina laeua sinunt auditque uocatus Apollo.*

mihi crescit in horas / quantum uere nouo uiridis se subicit alnus (72–4), just as Gallus' own *amores*, inscribed on the bark, will grow as the trees grow, 53–4 *tenerisque meos incidere amores / arboribus: crescent illae, crescetis, amores*.[17]

The use of the product of a metamorphosis to figure the poetics of the text is a recurrent feature of Ovid's *Metamorphoses*. In that poem's first tree metamorphosis Apollo's prophetic powers make of Daphne/the laurel an anticipation of Ovid's own claim for his textual perpetuity in the Epilogue to Book 15.[18] In an encomiastic and ecphrastic poem like *Silvae* 2.3 these Ovidian allegories serve the competitive spirit in which the poet matches his own words in rivalry both with the object described and praised, and with the owner of the object, the poet's patron.[19] Straightforwardly enough, Statius competes with his patron Melior on the grounds of the preservation of fame (Statius' glorifies Melior as Melior glorifies Blaesus). What is odd about *Silvae* 2.3 is that the poem competes with the object of the ecphrasis, the tree and the pool, through features (the act of commemoration, the wish for a long life, the memory of a birthday) that the poem itself has bestowed on that object. This is different from, for example, Statian poems on villas, in which the poet matches his skills of verbal making against the architectural wonders for which the patron is responsible. In this poem it is the poet, rather than his patron, who has made the tree and the pool what they are; and if the tree by the pool turns out to be more a symbol of the poem and of the poet's skill, this is not surprising given that the shade of a tree and running water are common features of symbolic landscapes of poetry. An ex-

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17 Another Virgilian tree may be relevant, both for the marking of a birthday with a miraculous tree, and for the association of that tree with the genius of the poet: Don. *Vita Verg.* 5 *Et accessit aliud praesagium, siquidem uirga populea more regionis in puerperiis eodem statim loco depacta ita breui eualuit tempore, ut multo ante satas populos adaequauisset, quae arbor Vergilii ex eo dicta atque etiam consecrata est summa grauidarum ac fetarum religione suscipientium ibi et soluentium uota*. Ben Jonson combines allusions to Virgil and to Martial (9.61, a poem closely related to *Silvae* 2.3: see below) in celebrating the tree that grew from an acorn said to have been planted on day of Sir Philip Sidney's birth (30 Nov. 1554), *To Penshurst* 13–8 "That taller tree, which of a nut was set / At his great birth, where all the muses met. / There, in the writhed bark, are cut the names / Of many a sylvan taken with his flames; / And thence the ruddy satyrs oft provoke / The lighter fauns to reach thy lady's oak."

18 See Hardie 2002, 49–50.

19 See Newlands 2002, 41.

ample (that may even be one of the models for *Silvae* 2.3) is the setting for Sappho's vision of a nymph in *Heroides* 15.157–60, *Est nitidus uitroque magis perlucidus omni / fons sacer (hunc multi numen habere putant), / quem supra ramos expandit aquatica lotos, / una nemus; tenero caespite terra uiret*,[20] "there is a sparkling sacred spring, more translucent than any glass (many suspect that a divinity dwells in it), above which the water-loving lotus spreads its branches, a grove in itself; the earth is green with soft grass". The lines occur in a passage full of metapoetic symbols, and details that one may suspect to refer to Sappho's own poetry: this tree by a pool is probably Sapphic in the sense that it is modelled on a description in a poem by Sappho.

Suspensions

In writing a narrative of metamorphosis whose product is frozen in a state of suspension, in between frustration and fulfilment, in between insensible tree or pool and anthropomorphic actor, Statius skilfully captures a common feature of Ovidian metamorphosis, that of being caught betwixt and between.[21] The careful balance of opposites is reflected in further facets of this exquisitely crafted poem. Firstly, it is reflected in the the "oxymoronic" character portrait of Melior, suspended on its "middle way", *medius limes* (67), between public and private virtues, Roman and Greek values, revealed and concealed: *blandus*, "winning, charming" (65), is not an expected epithet for *honos* as a Roman virtue, nor *hilaris*, "gay", for *uirtus*; Melior's *quies*, "repose", is not *pigra*, "lazy" (66); he is *secretus*, "private", but he orders his life *palam*, "for all to see" (69); he despises wealth but is unequalled in displaying it to good effect (70–1).[22]

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[20] With *nitidus* cf. *Silvae* 2.3.1; *uitroque magis perlucidus omni* alludes to Hor. *Carm.* 3.13 (on which see below); *aquatica lotos* (= *Met.* 9.341) was once the nymph Lotis, metamorphosed into a tree to escape rape by Priapus. I am grateful to Thea Thorsen for drawing my attention to this passage and its relevance to *Silvae* 2.3.

[21] See Hardie 2002, 82, discussing Myrrha's (in fact thoroughly typical) betwixt and between metamorphosis, fulfilling Myrrha's prayer at *Met.* 10.485–7.

[22] Good on this is Pederzani 1995, 196–9, referring for the tradition of "paradoxical" portraits to La Penna 1978 (which I have not been able to see). See Newlands 2002, 136 on the "union of opposites" in the character of Vopiscus in *S.* 1.3, a poem closely related in several respects to 2.3. The language used to describe Melior's character contain further hints that he is like a well-tended—Epicurean?—garden: with 64

Michael Dewar stresses the closeness between the Statian Pan's plane-tree and the Ovidian Apollo's laurel-tree in *Metamorphoses* 1,[23] the episode that most jarringly, for many readers, juxtaposes a private erotic narrative with the most public of Roman institutions, the triumph, and Roman places, the house of Augustus on the Palatine. For Ovid the laurel is both a perpetual memorial of Apollo's love for Daphne and the attribute of Roman conquest and rule. The flight of Pholoe from Pan traverses a landscape of Roman aetiologies (12–4), "Janus' martial grove" (*belligerum Iani nemus*),[24] the dark or deadly (*atra*) fields of Cacus,[25] and the Quirinal. This is a tale from the dawn of the history of the site of Rome, when, according to Virgil's Evander (*A.* 8.314–5) the place was inhabited by Fauns and Nymphs, and by a race of men born from the hard wood of tree trunks: a time when the boundary between tree and human was less hard and fast than it is now. What happens in the "Caelian wilds" (*Caelica tesca*: 14), the final resting place of the exhausted nymph, will however be the *aition* not of one of the public monuments or institutions of Rome, as might have been the case had this been an episode from Ovid's *Fasti*, but of a feature in the private garden of Melior's *uilla suburbana* on the Caelian: *Silvae* 2.3 is an early example of what Stephen Hinds calls "garden Ovidianism".[26]

Comparison with literal and figurative trees in Virgil, Ovid, Lucan and Martial also suggests that Melior's tree is closely related to, at the same time that it distinguishes itself from, a very Roman and very public kind of tree symbolism, at home especially in epic. Particularly interesting is Martial's description of the planting and mighty growth of another plane tree, in a poem that may even allude to *Silvae* 2.3:[27]

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posuere cf. 41 *deposuit*, "planted"; with 69 *digeris ordine uitam* cf. Plin. *Nat.* 16.149 *folia ... in ordinem digesta*; *G.* 2.54 *uacuos si sit digesta per agros*; *Fast.* 5.213 *saepe ego digestos uolui numerare colores*; *Ecl.* 1.73 *pone ordine uitis*.

23 Dewar 2002, 402–3.

24 "Enallage", van Dam; but Statius may also allude to Ovid's location of an encounter between Sabines and Romans at the Porta Ianualis (*Met.* 14.778–804), thwarted by the opening of the Lautulae (hot springs) by the Naides of the springs; was Statius' Nais (30) one of these?

25 *Ater* of Cacus' dwelling or attributes: *A.* 8.198, 219, 258, 262 (noted by Pederzani).

26 Hinds 2002, 147.

27 *Silvae* 1–3 were published after January AD 93, Martial 9 in autumn 94.

In Tartesiacis domus est notissima terris,
qua diues placidum Corduba Baetin amat,
uellera natiuo pallent ubi flaua metallo
et linit Hesperium brattea uiua pecus.
Aedibus in mediis totos amplexa penates[28]
stat platanus densis Caesariana comis,
hospitis inuicti posuit quam dextera felix,
coepit et ex illa crescere uirga manu.[29]
Auctorem dominumque nemus sentire uidetur:
sic uiret et ramis sidera celsa petit.
Saepe sub hac madidi luserunt arbore Fauni[30]
terruit et tacitam fistula sera domum;
dumque fugit solos nocturnum Pana per agros,
saepe sub hac latuit rustica fronde Dryas.
Atque oluere lares comissatore Lyaeo
creuit et effuso laetior umbra mero;
hesternisque rubens †delecta† est herba coronis
atque suas potuit dicere nemo rosas.
O dilecta deis,[31] o magni Caesaris arbor,
ne metuas ferrum sacrilegosque focos.
Perpetuos sperare licet tibi frondis honores:[32]
non Pompeianae te posuere manus.[33]

(Mart. 9.61)

In the land of Tartessus there is a famous house, where rich Corduba loves the calm Baetis, and where the yellow fleeces are pale with the native metal and living gold-leaf is spread on the western flock. In the middle of the mansion, embracing the whole household, there stands Caesar's plane with dense foliage. It was planted by the fortunate hand of the unconquered guest, and the shoot began to grow from that hand. The grove seems to recognise its author and master, to judge from the way that it flourishes and shoots its branches up to the stars above. Often drunken Fauns have sported under this tree, and late at night the sound of a pipe has frightened the silent house; and the rustic Dryad has often hidden under these leaves while she fled night-roaming Pan

[28] *A.* 2.512–4 *aedibus in mediis … laurus … umbra complexa penatis.*

[29] Ov. *Rem.* 85–8 *Quae praebet latas arbor spatiantibus umbras, / quo posita est primum tempore, uirga fuit; / tum poterat manibus summa tellure reuelli; / nunc stat in immensum uiribus aucta suis*: a tree embodying desire.

[30] *Met.* 8.746–8 *Saepe sub hac dryades festas duxere choreas, / saepe etiam manibus nexis ex ordine trunci / circuiere modum.*

[31] *Met.* 8.755 *non dilecta deae solum …*

[32] *Met.* 1.565 *tu quoque perpetuos semper gere frondis honores.*

[33] Contrast the dead tree to which Pompey is compared in Lucan 1.136–43. From the episode of the Massilian grove at Lucan 3.399–452 we know that Caesar is an unregenerate tree-feller.

> through the lonely fields. The house reeked of the revels of Bacchus, and the shade grew more luxuriant with streams of wine; the grass was painted red with yesterday's garlands, and no-one could claim the roses as his own. O tree of great Caesar, beloved of the gods, do not fear iron or sacrilegious hearths. You may expect the glory of your leaves to last for ever: you were not planted by the hands of Pompey.

Martial's description of the tree planted by Julius Caesar, perhaps on the occasion of the Spanish campaign of 45 BC,[34] alludes to a wide range of earlier poetic trees in a provocative display of intertextuality. Especially striking with regard to Melior's tree is the comparable combination of reference to the grand narratives of Roman history with the more sequestered world of Greek mythology and the symposium. Caesar's plane tree alludes to sacred and symbolic trees in the *Aeneid*, the *Metamorphoses*, and the *Bellum Ciuile*. The tree embodies the vigour and expansiveness of the great Roman who planted it. In line 6 the juxtaposition of *Caesariana comis* (literally "hair", but often used metaphorically of "leaves") activates the *Caesar-caesaries* ("hair") pun, although *this* tree's dense foliage is perhaps not the best match for *this* man's notoriously thin head of hair, not the only place where this epigram is not entirely straight-faced. But this arboreal embodiment of Roman greatness is also the playground for Fauns and Nymphs.

Statius, Ovid, and Horace

I will conclude by looking at another aspect of the careful equipoise of *Silvae* 2.3, its balance between Ovidian and Horatian models. This is not the only place where Statius combines the Ovidian and the Horatian. Stephen Hinds in his discussion of the androgynous Achilles in Statius' *Achilleid* points to the combination of Horatian and Ovidian intertexts, but concludes that the "local" Horatian allusion is subsumed within, and almost rendered invisible by, the larger "systematic" Ovidian allusions in the *Achilleid*.[35] For *Silvae* 2.3 I want to make two claims: firstly that Horatian allusion exists in suspension with, rather than being occluded by, Ovidian allusion; and secondly

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[34] For the possible occasions see Henriksén 1999, 56–7.
[35] Hinds 1998, 135–44.

that in certain respects Statian allusion to Horace recognises Ovid's own earlier exploitation of Horatian intertexts.

In the present day Melior's garden is still a semi-pastoral, Epicurean, place of retreat, in Ovidian terms a landscape of Greek mythology and metamorphic wonder set apart from the city, but Melior realises in his own character a greatness of a kind naturalized in Roman culture above all by the Horatian moralizing alluded to in the laudatory magnification of Melior at the end of the poem. In the last and longest of the oxymoronic formulations in the description of Melior's character, in lines 70–1, there is perhaps buried another pun on the name of Melior: *idem auri facilis contemptor et optimus idem / promere diuitias opibusque immittere lucem*, "a despiser too of gold yet none better at displaying your wealth to advantage and letting the light in upon your riches". As *auri facilis contemptor* Melior exemplifies the Roman virtue of Horace *Carm.* 3.3.49–52 *Aurum irrepertum et sic melius situm, / cum terra celat, spernere fortior / quam cogere humanos in usus / omne sacrum rapiente dextra*, "[Rome] stronger at despising gold, leaving it undiscovered and so better stored, when earth hides it, rather than forcing it to man's uses with hands that despoil all that is sacred". "Better" (*melius*) indeed, but best (*optimus*) is the ability to "bring wealth to light" (*promere diuitias*) without fear of corruption. The narrative section of the poem as we have seen, is framed by two descriptive passages, the Ovidian ecphrasis at 1–5, and the description at 64–71 of the Horatian *aurea mediocritas*[36] of Melior's character. But this Horatian conclusion has already been anticipated at the beginning of the narrative of Pan and Pholoe. Bands of nymphs fleeing a lusty god are Ovidian, but also Horatian: with 8 *nympharum tenerae fugiebant Pana cateruae*, "the tender flock of Nymphs were fleeing Pan", compare *Carm.* 3.18.1 *Faune, Nympharum fugientum amator*, "Faunus, lover of the fleeing nymphs". The selection by Pan of one named nymph out of a multitude has Ovidian precedent, *Fasti* 1.415–8 *At ruber, hortorum decus et tutela, Priapus / omnibus ex illis Lotide captus erat: / hanc cupit, hanc optat, sola suspirat in illa, / signaque dat nutu sollicitatque notis*, "But, out of all of those it was Lotis who captivated ruddy Priapus, the ornament and protector of gardens: her he desired, her he longed for, his sighs were

[36] Noted by Pederzani 1995, 196; and comm. on 67 *medius per honesta et dulcia limes*; see also van Dam 1984, 277, 330.

only for her". But to the question "why Pholoe?", the answer may be that *Pholoe fugax*, "flying Pholoe", is a specifically Horatian character (*Carm.* 1.33.7, 2.5.17; the name is also found in Tibullus 1.8). With 18 *insequitur uelox pecorum deus*, "swiftly the god of flocks follows" compare the *uelox Faunus*, "swift Faunus", guardian of the poet's flocks in *Carm.* 1.17.

In both *Carm.* 1.17 and 3.18 Faunus, the Italian equivalent of the Greek Pan, is a god who guarantees a space of tranquillity and security in the countryside. In *Carm.* 1.17 Faunus keeps off the sun's heat and windy rain from the poet's flocks, in a landscape where Tyndaris and Horace can make music, immune from the violence associated with sex in the city. This erotic violence is, however, not banished, but contained, precariously perhaps, within the tuneful shade protected by the lustful Faunus, where the song will be of Penelope's and Circe's passion for Ulysses.[37] In the world of Ovid's *Metamorphoses* the *locus amoenus* is often the setting for erotic and metamorphic violence: *Silvae* 2.3 converts one such landscape into a place of security and contentment (15–6 *qua nunc placidi Melioris aperti / stant sine fraude lares*, "where now stands the the open, innocuous dwelling of tranquil Melior"), a space however in which urgent desire is not eliminated, but contained and made safe. This we might see as the effect of a Horatianization of an Ovidian narrative setting. It is perhaps relevant that it was Faunus who protected Horace from the falling tree (*Carm.* 2.17.27–9).

In combining Ovidian fantasy with Horatian ethics and poetics, Statius follows Ovid's *own* translation of Horatian topics into the world of the *Metamorphoses*. In the sequestered vale of *Carm.* 1.17 Tyndaris will avoid the heat of the Dogstar (*Canicula*, 17), instead "singing dispassionately of passion",[38] of *laborantis in uno / Penelopen uitreamque Circen*, "Penelope and glassy Circe suffering over the same man" (19–20). In the Statian garden the tree, an unthreatening embodiment of Pan's heated desire (19–20 *ardenti ... pectore*), will shelter the pool from the sky's heat and from lashing hail. The Dogstar has no power either over Horace's *fons Bandusiae* in *Carm.* 3.13.9–10 *Te flagrantis atrox hora Caniculae / nescit tangere*, "You

[37] On the containment of sexual violence within the lyric *locus amoenus* see Oliensis 1998, 114–6 (on *Carm.* 3.18), 121–4 (on *Carm.* 1.17).

[38] Oliensis 1998, 122.

the cruel hour of the blazing Dogstar cannot touch".[39] The *fons Bandusiae* is converted into a voluble monument of Horace's own poetry through the words of the poet himself that paint the picture of a tree by the side of the water, 13–6 *Fies nobilium tu quoque fontium / me dicente cauis impositam ilicem / saxis, unde loquaces / lymphae*[40] *desiliunt tuae*, "You too will become one of the famous fountains as I sing of the holm-oak set above the cave in the rock from where your waters leap down chattering".

Ovid exploits the metamorphic potential of *Carm.* 3.13, in the narrative of the young Polyphemus frustrated in his pursuit of the nymph Galatea in *Metamorphoses* 13. In the third line of the long list of pastoral comparisons in the song of Polyphemus Galatea is called (13.791) *splendidior uitro, tenero lasciuior haedo*, "brighter than glass, more wanton than the young kid", a water-nymph allusively equated firstly with Horace's spring, and secondly with the kid whose warm blood will flow into the chilly waters of the *fons Bandusiae* (*Carm.* 3.13.3 *haedo*, 8 *lasciui suboles gregis*, "offspring of the wanton flock"). At the end of Ovid's story it is the blood not of Galatea but of her lover Acis that is shed, and then miraculously transformed into clear water, 13.887–90 *Puniceus de mole cruor manabat, et intra / temporis exiguum rubor euanescere coepit, / fitque color primo turbati fluminis imbre / purgaturque mora*, "From the rock trickled crimson blood, and in a short time the ruddy hue began to fade, and turned the colour of a swollen stream when the first rain falls, and in a while it cleared". The ensemble is completed with the sudden growth of tall reeds through the cracks in the rock hurled at Acis by Polyphemus and from whose "mouth" now sound the bubbling waters of the new fountain, 892 *osque cauum saxi sonat exsultantibus undis*, "the hollow mouth in the rock resounded with the leaping waters". This is a watery music that will sound out in the pastoral landscape long after Polyphemus' boomings have ceased. Compare the setting and verbal detail of Horace's *fons Bandusiae*, *Carm.* 3.13.13–6 *Fies nobilium tu*

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[39] Cf. *Silv.* 2.3.57 *nec patitur tactus* (the waters of the pool fending off Pan's amorous attentions).

[40] Ov. *Her.* 15.157 might suggest that *splendidior uitro* had a source in a Sapphic description of a poetic spring; for a talkative fountain cf. Sappho fr. 2.5–6 L-P ἐν δ᾽ ὕδωρ ψῦχρον κελάδει δι᾽ ὕσδων μαλίνων. *quoque* in *fies nobilium tu quoque fontium* might suggest that the *fons Bandusiae* will join other springs immortalized by other poets.

quoque fontium, / me dicente <u>*cauis*</u> *impositam ilicem /* <u>*saxis,*</u> *unde loquaces / lymphae de*siliunt *tuae*: a perennial fountain of clear water stained, but only for a moment, with the hot life-blood of the kid.

Here, as elsewhere, Ovid makes the most of the metamorphic potential of a Horatian passage. Statius, in the pastoral pleasance of Atedius Melior's garden, cooks up a narrative and descriptive confection that combines Horatian topics of praise and self-praise with an Ovidian tale of metamorphosis. The versatility of the tree by the pool reflects the versatility of a poet who has learned Ovid's own Horatian tricks.

13. IDEOLOGY AND POETICS ALONG THE VIA DOMITIANA: STATIUS *SILVAE* 4.3[1]

Johannes J. L. Smolenaars

Statius' eulogy on the Via Domitiana combines themes of Domitianic propaganda with an extensive description of how an imperial highway is constructed. The descriptions of the former terrible state of the road and the actual construction of the new highway (27–66, 95–113) are reminiscent of poems written by Gabriele d'Annunzio in the 1920s expressing the same enthusiasm for speed, progress and modern technology which is so typical of the "Futurismo". This part of the poem is important in itself, since it is our only documentary evidence of Roman road-building. In this article, however, I will concentrate on the poem's explicit encomiastic parts on Domitian's rule, phrased by (in order of appearance) the poet, the river-god Vulturnus and Virgil's Cumaean Sibyl.

As can be easily verified on a map, every monument and topographical detail along the Domitiana are referred to in Statius' poem. The Via Domitiana, from Sinuessa to Puteoli (Pozzuoli), was inaugurated in AD 95; it was extended by Trajan to Naples in 102. The new road offered great advantages. Before AD 95 the journey from Rome to Puteoli would lead along the Via Appia to Capua (as told in Horace *Satire* 1.5), then south to Puteoli. The new highway branching off at Sinuessa followed the coast, leading directly to Puteoli via Cumae. Thus the distance between Rome and Puteoli was shortened consid-

[1] An earlier version of this article was presented at the Symposium Cumanum on "Roman Political Ideology" in 2001. The publication of the contributions at this Symposium has been delayed until now. My interpretation of lines 114–122 has changed as a result of the excavations at Cumae in spring 2002. With this exception, my contribution to the *Groningen Colloquium on Flavian Poetry* (2003), here in print, is the same as in 2001. Since Carole Newlands' study of the *Silvae* (2002) was published after my talk in 2001, I will not take into full account her discussion of Statius' Via Domitiana (pp. 284–325). Our interpretations agree on many points, but differ on more. In general, I disagree with Newlands' interpretation of Domitian's construction of the highway as a violent or even "unsettling" disturbance of nature. Making alterations to nature was certainly considered a morally ambiguous activity by some Romans, but not, I think, in this poem. See my notes 10, 14, 23, 26.

erably, as we read in lines 20–6 and in Statius' introductory letter to Book 4 of the *Silvae*:

> Tertio uiam Domitianam miratus sum, qua grauissimam harenarum moram exemit. Cuius beneficio tu quoque maturius epistolam meam accipies, quam tibi in hoc libro a Neapoli scribo.
>
> (Stat. *Silv*. 4.*ep*.5–10)

> Third, I have admired the Domitian Way, by which he has eliminated a very irksome delay due to the sands. Thanks to him you will receive my letter more expeditiously, which I am writing to you from Naples in this volume.[2] (tr. Shackleton Bailey 2003)

The propaganda value of this major construction is elaborated by Statius in his swift, hendecasyllabic poem celebrating the completion of the road, the *prouidentia* of the emperor, the advance of civilisation under his rule and nature's willing submission to Domitian's *potestas*. This ideological picture of the emperor's cosmic influence is greatly enhanced by the intertextual references to Virgil's fourth *Eclogue* (the announcement of "the Child") and *Aeneid* Book 6 (the announcement of Octavianus Augustus by Anchises) in the Sibyl's praise at the end of the poem. For the modern reader the tone and impact of this extravagant encomium are difficult to assess. We should realize that such encomiastic language and concepts were characteristic of the imperial cult, and not unusual at all in those days. For example, in Pliny's *Panegyricus* on Trajan (written September 1, 100, and read in the senate), we find the emperor ruling at Jupiter's command, as his substitute on earth (*Pan*. 56.3, 80.4). Statius' occasional poems abound with very similar topics. Domitian is "our Jupiter" (*Silv*. 1.6.27); his feet are *sacrati* (*Silv*. 5.1.111–2), though actually deformed according to Suetonius (*Dom*. 18); he is *potens terrarum dominus* (*Silv*. 3.4.19–20), and addressed as *regnator terrarum orbisque subacti / magne parens, te, spes hominum, te, cura deorum* (*Silv*. 4.2.14–5). In short, Domitian is God on earth: "No flattery was too outrageous for Domitian" (Jones 1992, 32). Geyssen (1996) considers these and similar topics as generically inherent, but Statius (and Martial) is much too clever to copy the repertoire of panegyrics for its own sake. Others tend to interpret these and similarly excessive qualifications as humorous and mildly ironic, or even as an attack on the

[2] Here and elsewhere the translation is taken from Shackleton Bailey 2003.

emperor's hypocrisy.[3] The latter seems most unlikely to me, this emperor not being much in favour of criticism of his rule. The former raises the question whether Domitian might have smiled while listening to Statius reciting one of his poems, that is, if he ever did. Would he have recognized an intertextual allusion if he heard one? Or did everybody understand the humour, except for Domitian? It should be remembered that Domitian was a connoisseur of literature and a poet himself; Suetonius attests to his skill at quoting Homer and Virgil (*Dom.* 9.1, 12.3, 18.2). In any case, we should be aware that some of Statius' poems were actually commissioned by the emperor, for example the first composition in the collection on the great equestrian statue of the emperor, to whom the poem had to be delivered the day after the statue was dedicated:

> Centum hos uersus, quos in ecum maximum feci, indulgentissimo imperatori postero die, quam dedicauerat opus, tradere iussus sum.[4]
> (Stat. *Silv.* 1.*ep.*18–9)
>
> I was bidden to hand over these hundred lines on the Great Horse to our most indulgent emperor the day after he dedicated his work.

The "Via Domitiana" may also well have been commissioned as part of the celebration of its completion,[5] and irony or humour—if present—had better be to the emperor's taste!

Structure of the poem

After the introductory catalogue (A) of Domitian's domestic achievements (lines 1–26), we watch (B) the terrible condition of the former road (27–39), and the miraculous process of road-building (40–66). Then we listen (C) to the speech delivered by the river-god Vulturnus (67–94) and witness the celebration of the triumphal arch at the junction of the Appia and Domitiana at Sinuessa (95–113). Finally, we

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[3] Dominik 1994; Newlands 2002. See Nauta 2002a, 412–40. Saller 1990 [2000] points at the problems encountered when basing judgments of ancient rulers on literary and anecdotal evidence preserved in ancient authors. For strong arguments against the traditional view of Domitian as a tyrant, based on Tacitus (*Agr.* 45), Suetonius and Cassius Dio, see Fears 1981, 74–80; Jones 1992. For the acceptance of hostile stories and anecdotes see Southern 1997.

[4] The text is controversial: *iussus sum* recc.: *ausus sum* Sandström: *iussum* M. I have adapted Shackleton Bailey's translation to agree with *iussus sum.*

[5] Coleman 1988, 105.

hear (D) the Sibyl's praise of the emperor at the end of the road, at Cumae (114–63).[6] So Coleman (1988, 104) is right: "the route itself provides a framework for the poem", as it does in Horace's Journey to Brindisium (*S.* 1.5). But also the geographical references in this poem are used as an important structural feature:

- In the first section (A) we find ourselves near Sinuessa (3), at the beginning of the Domitiana. This section is closed in 24–6 by summarizing the tracks of the Domitiana and the Apppia, from the south (Baiae, Mons Gaurus, Cumae) to the north (Rome).
- Section (B) is closed in 64–6 by summarizing the track of the Domitiana from the south (Mons Gaurus, Cumae) to the north (Liternum, Savo).
- In (C) we have reached the Vulturnus and the triumphal arch at Sinuessa (95–100). This section is rounded off in 112–3 with the complete track from the north (Tiber) to the south (Lake Lucrinus).
- In (D) we have arrived at "the end of the road" (114), at Cumae. At the conclusion of her ecstatic eulogy (162–3), the Sibyl covers the complete Rome-Puteoli track by combining the Appia and Domitiana in her wish for the new road to have eternal life.

Thus, each individual section appears to close with a list of locations, carefully arranged to cover either the Domitiana (B), or the journey from Rome to Puteoli: northwards (A) or southwards (C). In effect, on our journey from Sinuessa (north) to Cumae (south), we seem to travel along the road back and forth, and when we finally reach Cumae, we have covered the distance several times in both directions. This effect of restlessness on the structural level is further strengthened by the mimetic metre and the excessive word repetition within and between the individual sections. This extreme repetition of words and sounds in the poem is, I think, emblematic of the ricocheting "monstrous sound" (1) of the road-building echoing between the mountains in the real world (63–4 *echon simul hinc et inde fractam … remittit*).

This poem is the longest hendecasyllabic in the collection: "163 hendecasyllables are a *tour de force* to match the subject-matter" (Coleman 1988, 105). I would have liked the number of lines to be equal to the distance between Rome and Puteoli, but this is not the

[6] Extravagant compliments are often phrased not by Statius himself, but by his spokesmen; see Coleman on *Silv.* 4.1.

case. From Rome to Sinuessa the Via Appia stretches 109 Roman miles, according to the *Tabula Peutingeriana* (Miller); the Domitiana from Sinuessa straight to Puteoli is about 32 Roman miles (36 if we include the section Cumae-Baiae-Cumae-Avernus). So the total amounts to about 141 (or 145) Roman miles. But the poem's extraordinary length, its speed and nervous rhythm are certainly associated with the highway and the modern times it represents.

Road-construction (20–66)

hic segnis populi uias grauatus
et campos iter omne detinentes
longos eximit ambitus nouoque
iniectu solidat graues harenas,
gaudens Euboicae domum Sibyllae
Gauranosque sinus et aestuantes
septem montibus admouere Baias.

Inscription from Puteoli: colonia Flauia Aug(usta) Puteolana (...) indulgentia maximi diuinique Principis *Vrbi eius admota*

(Stat. *Silv*. 4.3.20–6)

he it is who, impatient of routes that retard the people and plains that check their every journey, eliminates long distances and with new paving makes solid the clinging sands, glad to bring the home of Euboea's Sibyl and the fields of Gaurus and steaming Baiae closer to the Seven Hills.

Lines 20–6 praise the emperor's *prouidentia* and *magnitudo animi*. He was concerned about his people and gladly undertook the construction of the Via Domitiana in order to bring Cumae, its lakes (Avernus, Lucrinus) at the foot of the Mons Gaurus (modern Barbaro) and the thermal (*aestuantes*) springs of Baiae closer to the Seven Hills. The use of the same verb (*admoueo*) in the inscription from Puteoli (AD 95/96, above) demonstrates that either the citizens of Puteoli quoted from Statius, or that Statius' poem reflects the language of official propaganda.[7] I find both explanations equally fascinating.

[7] The inscription (*AE* 1973, 137 = 1941, 73), quoted from Coleman, was erased after Domitian's death.

The technical description of road-construction which follows (40–66) is closed with an image of places along the road listening in astonishment to the terrible din. This summary rapidly leads us from Cumae (south) to the river Savo (north):

Feruent litora mobilesque siluae,	*A*. 4.409 *feruere litora*, 407 opere omnis semita *feruet*
it longus medias fragor per urbes	*A*. 4.665–6 *it clamor* ad alta / atria; concussam bacchatur Fama *per urbem*

> atque echon simul hinc et inde fractam
> Gauro Massicus uuifer remittit.
> Miratur sonitum quieta Cyme
> et Literna palus pigerque Sauo.
>
> (Stat. *Silv*. 4.3.61–6)

> The shore and waving woods are astir. The lengthy din travels through the towns between and grapy Massicus sends back to Gaurus the echo broken at either end. Quiet Cyme wonders at the noise, and the Liternian marsh and sluggish Savo.

Lines 61–3 contain interesting references to Book 4 of the *Aeneid*, which would not escape any educated reader. With *feruent litora* Statius recalls Virgil's sad address to Dido: *cum litora feruere late / prospiceres* (*A*. 4.409–10) and the preceding ants-simile illustrating the Trojans' hasty preparations to leave Carthage: *opere omnis semita feruet* (*A*. 4.407). Further references to *Aeneid* Book 4 do confirm "Dido" as a subtext: lines 62–3 recall the events subsequent to her suicide, Virgil's *Fama* being replaced with *echon*, his *clamor* with *fragor*. These allusions, if recognized, do in themselves add to the enjoyment of Statius' description, but, we may ask, are we invited to take the original contexts into account? The enthusiasm and discipline of Virgil's Trojans/ants and Statius' road-builders fit easily together, but what about Anna's *clamor* and Statius' *fragor*? If we accept Heinsius' explanation that *mobiles siluae* refers to the trees being cut down for the construction of the road (cf. 50 *caedunt nemus exuuntque montes*), *mobiles* is proleptic, indicating the result of the action.[8] In that

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[8] Coleman is right in pointing out the impression of miracle-working, "perhaps with a hint of Domitian as a second Orpheus". The phrase may be chosen to suggest that the trees are leaving of their own free will, emphasizing the concord between nature and emperor. The only other occurrence of the phrase in Latin does not help: in Sen. *Thy.* 168 *silua mobilis* refers to the punishment of Tantalus.

case Anna's lament and the sound of trees crashing down have one thing in common: both announce death and destruction. However, *pace* Newlands, Statius never shows off as an ecologist; on the contrary, in his poems nature often is happily giving way to civilisation. Therefore, the subtext (Dido's agony and death) here may add a note of pathos and tragedy, but in my opinion the effect of this intertextual play is mildly humorous.

Vulturnus' speech (67–94)

At flauum caput umidumque late	
crinem mollibus impeditus uluis	*A.* 8.34 crinis umbrosa tegebat harundo
Vulturnus leuat ora maximoque	*A.* 8.31 Tiberinus … se attollere … uisus
pontis Caesarei reclinus arcu	
raucis talia faucibus redundat:	

(Stat. *Silv.* 4.3.67–71)

But Vulturnus raises his face, his yellow head and mop of watery hair tangled with soft sedge. Leaning against the mighty arch of Caesar's bridge, he pours from his hoarse throat such words as these:

The description of Vulturnus' appearance is clearly inspired by Virgil's Tiber in *A.* 8.31–4: *fluuio Tiberinus amoeno / … se attollere … / uisus (… crinis umbrosa tegebat harundo).* And like most river-gods "his yellow head and mop of watery hair is tangled with soft sedge".[9] But the phrasing of this traditional picture is most unusual and I think humorous:

- *impeditus* is quite different from the usual "covered with"; the verb is repeated from *iter impeditum* (32–3) and, like the road, Vulturnus is "hindered", in his case by sedge, from moving head and hair freely;
- *redundat* is rather common of flooding rivers, but only here of a river-god "pouring out" words. Statius seems to play with the verb's sense "to be exuberant, excessive"(*OLD* 9), as in Cicero's characterisation of the style of *Asiatici oratores* (*Brutus* 51);
- the extraordinary combination of the god's bizarre appearance, his casual leaning against the bridge, his exuberant style and "hoarse

[9] For example: *A.* 10.205–6 (Mincius) *uelatus harundine glauca*; Ov. *Ars* 1.223 *Euphrates, praecinctus harundine frontem.*

throat” certainly makes one very curious about the content of his speech.

“Camporum bone conditor meorum,	
qui me uallibus auiis refusum	*A.* 6.107 tenebrosa palus Acheronte refuso
et ripas habitare nescientem	Hor. *Carm.* 4.2.6 super notas … ripas (Pindar), 30 circa … Tiburis ripas (Horace)
recti legibus aluei ligasti!	*A.* 8.57 (Thybris) recto flumine, 63 stringentem ripas et pinguia culta secantem
En nunc ille ego turbidus minaxque,	*A.* 6.296 (Acheron) turbidus hic caeno uastaque uoragine gurges / aestuat
uix passus dubias prius carinas,	
iam pontem fero peruiusque calcor;	(contrast *A.* 8.728 pontem indignatus Araxes)
qui terras rapere et rotare siluas	
assueram (pudet!), amnis esse coepi.	
	(Stat. *Silv.* 4.3.72–80)

“Kind orderer of my plains, who bound me in the law of a straight channel when I spread over distant valleys nor knew to keep my limits, see, now I, the turbulent bully, that in time past barely tolerated imperilled barks, I bear a bridge and am tramped by crossing feet. I that was wont to carry off lands and whirl woods (ah, shame!), begin to be a river.

The topic of men’s dominance of Nature and of Nature being a grateful subject is a favourite with Statius.[10] It will be repeated in 135 *Natura melior potentiorque* (again of Domitian). Vulturnus feels ashamed (*pudet*, 80)[11] of his former state, when he did not know how to keep his limits (74), and is proud now to “bear a bridge” (78) and to “begin to be a river” (80). His proud (but also slightly pathetic) *amnis*

[10] Compare for instance *Silv.* 2.2.52–3 *hic uicta colenti / cessit et ignotos docilis mansueuit in usus* and 58 *gaudet humus*.

[11] I prefer Mozley’s interpunction as printed here to Shackleton Bailey’s (2003), who puts a comma after *assueram*, thus having *pudet* refer to *amnis esse coepi*: “I … begin (ah, shame!) to be a river”. I disagree on Newlands’ interpretation of the river having become “a subjugated stream” and regretting his new state (301). Volturnus may be somewhat nostalgic (*ille ego*, 76), perhaps ashamed of his former state (comma after *pudet*), but all in all very happy about Domitian’s alteration.

esse coepi marks the change from his former sorry state and that of other untamed rivers, as for instance *pontem indignatus Araxes* (*A.* 8.728). He thanks the emperor for his victory and is delighted to serve him forever:

Sed grates ago seruitusque tanti est,
quod sub te duce, te iubente, cessi,
quod tu maximus arbiter meaeque
uictor perpetuus legere ripae.

(Stat. *Silv.* 4.3.81–4)

But I give you thanks and my servitude is worthwile because I have yielded under *your* guidance at *your* command, and because men shall read of you as supreme arbiter and conqueror of my bank.

With *legere*, "you will be read" (84), Vulturnus primarily refers to the inscription on his bridge (Frère, Coleman), but Statius certainly hints at his own poem at the same time (Vollmer), allowing him to introduce the notion of "the power of poetry", which will be elaborated further and will prove to be an important theme. *Vixere fortes ante Agamemnona multi*, said Horace (*Carm.* 4.5.25), but nobody knows these heroes, *carent quia uate sacro*. Likewise it is through Statius' poem that Domitian's fame as a road-builder will spread.

This poetical interpretation is confirmed by the final part of Vulturnus' eulogy, which is phrased in a language strongly reminiscent of Callimachean and Neoteric literary manifestos, especially the famous contrast between the sluggisch current of the Assyrian river, carrying rubbish and silt, and the fine spray from the pure spring:[12]

Et nunc limite me colis beato
nec sordere sinis malumque late
deterges sterilis soli pudorem,
ne me *puluereum grauemque caelo*[13] — *A.* 8.64 caelo gratissimus amnis
Tyrrheni sinus obluat *profundi*
(qualis Cinyphius *tacente ripa*
Poenos Bagrada *serpit* inter agros),

[12] For a full discussion and literature I refer to Frederick Williams' note on Call. *Ap.* 105/8–13. Vulturnus' *puro gurgite* reflects the notion of "purity'" (καθαρή) in Callimachus' line 111. See also Newlands 2002, 303 and following.

[13] Coleman prefers the ancient conjecture *caeno*, but *grauemque caelo* would trigger a contrast with its modelpassage *A.* 8.64 (Tiber, see below) *caelo gratissimus amnis*, which gives more sense than superfluous *caeno*. I have adapted Shackleton Bailey's translation accordingly.

sed talis ferar ut *nitente* cursu
tranquillum mare proximumque possim
puro gurgite prouocare Lirim."

Call. *Ap.* 108–13 Ἀσσυρίου ποταμοῖο μέγας ῥόος, ἀλλὰ τὰ πολλά / λύματα γῆς καὶ πολλὸν ἐφ' ὕδατι συρφετὸν ἕλκει. / Δηοῖ δ' οὐκ ἀπὸ παντὸς ὕδωρ φορέουσι μέλισσαι, / ἀλλ' ἥτις καθαρή τε καὶ ἀχράαντος ἀνέρπει / πίδακος ἐξ ἱερῆς ὀλίγη λιβὰς ἄκρον ἄωτον.

(Stat. *Silv.* 4.3.85–94)

And now you tend me with a copious channel nor let me lie in squalor, and broadly wipe away the sorry shame of barren soil, so that the gulf of the Tyrrhene sea does not wash against my sandy, sky-polluting current, even as Cinyphian Bagrada glides by his silent banks amid Punic fields, but I so flow that I can challenge the smooth sea with my shining course and neighbouring Liris with my limpid stream."

By his careful choice of the above words in italics, especially *profundi* (89), *nitente cursu* (92), *tranquillum* (93) and *puro gurgite* (94), Vulturnus identifies himself with the "pure spring" of Callimachus' poetics. This interpretation is corroborated by Vulturnus' subsequent comparison of his former wild state with that of the "Cinyphian Bagrada" (95), which flows into the Mediterranean west of Utica.Why the Bagrada? First of all, this river is known for its sluggish flow (hence *tacente ripa*),[14] which—on a poetical level—makes it a perfect counterpart to Callimachus' "Assyrian river": "Great is the stream of the Assyrian river, but much filth of earth and much refuse it carries in its waters", and Vulturnus' former silted and destructive state.[15] In addition, the Bagrada is famous for the battle of Regulus against a huge serpent on its banks in the first Punic War (Sil. 6.149 and following),

[14] Compare Luc. 4.588 *Bagrada lentus*; Sil. 6.140–3 *turbidus arentes lento pede sulcat harenas / Bagrada, non ullo Libycis in finibus amne / uictus limosas extendere latius undas / et stagnante uado patulos inuadere campos.*

[15] Newlands (2002, 307–8) takes the muddy Bagrada as a "powerful reminder of the river's role in epic poetry as a heroic and indeed moral force", as "a final allusion to the dangers of human interference with nature". In her view, Vulturnus, by contrast, assumes "a new, less ambitious poetics that lacks a moral or political voice". I fail to see how Statius, a Callimachean poet himself, would prefer Callimachus' detested "muddy river" to Vulturnus' *puro gurgite*.

which explains Vulturnus' choice of *serpit* as a clever reference to that historical battle in the best Alexandrian manner.[16]

The poetical interpretation of this section of Vulturnus' speech (85–94) allows us to also interpret his metamorphosis in 73–5 as a poetical metaphor for the two different types of poetry Horace recognizes in his famous *Ode* 4.2, where Pindar's vehement style is characterised as a wild torrent: *imbres quem super notas aluere ripas* (6), in contrast to the sophisticated type of poetry Horace himself claimed to write on the banks of the civilized Anio in Tivoli: *circa nemus uuidique / Tiburis ripas* (31–2). Vulturnus is transformed by the emperor from a Pindaric flooding torrent (*ripas habitare nescientem*, 74) into a smoothly flowing river ("you bound me in the law of a straight channel", 75), which in itself is a clever definition of the type of poetry Horace advocates. What better evidence could Vulturnus provide of his newly gained refined elegance, of his delight to have entered "modern times"?

This poetical interpretation of Vulturnus' speech suits the theme of the poem well. Via his spokesman, the poet praises the emperor for his civilizing power, and manifests himself as the new *uates* who is perfectly capable of phrasing Domitian's high achievements in a like modern style. At the same time, the hyperbolic flattery in this speech is mildly tempered by the humorous depiction of the "revamped" (Newlands) river-god, posing as a *poeta doctus* and proud of his being trampled by those who cross over (*peruiusque calcor*, 78), which is precisely what Callimachus loathed in *Epigr.* 28.1–2: οὐδὲ κελεύθῳ / χαίρω, τίς πολλοὺς ὧδε καὶ ὧδε φέρει. Since Callimachus certainly did not like any busy highway, the obvious clash between subject matter and poetics in the "Via Domitiana" may well contribute to the poem's humorous character.[17]

[16] Statius' choice of this specific river may also have been triggered by any actual plans of Domitian to mount an expedition deep into Africa in search of the sources of the Nile (see below), but there is no direct evidence of Domitian's military activities in this region (Jones 1992, 140).

[17] There is more of Callimachus in this poem. As Annemarie Ambuehl kindly pointed out to me, his "Victoria Sosibii" (fr. 384 Pf.) may well be one of Statius' sources here; in line 24 Kinyps is mentioned and also here a river (the Nile) is spokesman.

The Sibyl of Cumae (114–22)

The description of the monumental arch at Sinuessa (95–100) is followed by an invitation to all peoples from the East to take this new highway along which one can travel from Rome to Lake Lucrinus (Baiae) in one day:

> Qui primo Tiberim reliquit ortu,
> primo uespere nauiget Lucrinum.
>
> (Stat. *Silv.* 4.3.112–3)
>
> Let him that left Tibur at daybreak sail the Lucrine at earliest eve.

Having travelled the 145 miles or so from the north (Rome) to the south in two lines and one day,[18] we arrive at Cumae, at the "furthest end of the new road", and identified by the temple of Apollo, sixty metres high on the acropolis, the god's statue on top overlooking the lower city:

Sed quam fine uiae recentis imo,	Hor. *S.* 1.5.140 finis … uiaeque est
qua monstrat ueteres Apollo Cumas,	*A.* 6.9 altus Apollo praesidet
albam crinibus infulisque cerno?	

> (Stat. *Silv.* 4.3.114–6)
>
> But who is this that I see at the furthest end of the new road, where Apollo points to ancient Cumae? Her hair and fillets are white.

With *fine uiae recentis imo*, recalling Hor. *S.* 1.5.140 *finis … uiaeque* (see below), Statius seems to indicate the end of the Via Domitiana, though actually the road continues for three more Roman miles to Pozzuoli. From here we see the Sibyl bringing forth the laurels from her sacred cave:

Visu fallimur, an sacris ab antris	
profert Chalcidicas Sibylla laurus?	*A.* 6.17 Chalcidicaque arce

> (Stat. *Silv.* 4.3.117–8)
>
> Do my eyes deceive me, or does the Sibyl bring Chalcidian laurels forth from her sacred cave?

[18] In reality this distance can only be covered by a courier in one day with a relay of fast horses.

But where exactly are we? Coleman argues that the Sibyl appears “at the point where the road out of the forum forks”. In that case we find ourselves all of a sudden in the busy centre of Cumae and watch the Sibyl approach on our right side. Until 2002 I was convinced that we had travelled south from Vulturnus, passed by the city of Cumae on the east side, following the course of the Domitiana outside the city walls, and arrived now at the Arco Felice (not mentioned), east of Cumae. From here we see the distant temple of Apollo, high on the Acropolis and overlooking the lower city, and watch the Sibyl leave her sacred cave at the bottom of the Acropolis and approach dancing from the lower city all the way up to where we stand. In that case, *nouisque spatiis* (121–2) would refer to the “new space” created by the construction of this new branch of the Domitiana and Domitian’s arch. I still find it hard to believe that Statius would have neglected the opportunity to refer to the monumental Arco Felice, the arch celebrating the place where the crater-rim of the Monte Grillo was cut through in AD 95 in order to allow the Domitiana to branch off to Cumae.[19] However, recent excavations (*Progetto Kyme* 2002) perhaps suggest that the Domitiana may have entered Cumae from the north. If so, Coleman is right: the road would cross the forum and leave the city eastwards via the Arco Felice; *nouis spatiis* would then refer to the Domitiana crossing the forum.[20] From either place we can see both the golden statue of Apollo on top of his temple and of Domitian on top of the arch (twenty metres high), represented either as Jupiter wielding the thunderbolt or as standing in his triumphal chariot. The latter, I think, is strongly suggested by *scandes … currus* (159).[21] A portrait or statue might well explain the uses of deictic *hic* and *hunc* (128), *com-*

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[19] Before AD 95 one could either pass through the tunnel built by Cocceius in 37 BC, linking Lake Avernus to the lower city, or approach Cumae by boat (Sen. *Ep.* 57), or follow the ancient road mentioned in 27 and following.

[20] And yet, Nauta justly remarks that “it would be odd for a poet declaiming at Cumae to cry out, as Statius does: whom do I see there, down at Cumae?” (2002a, 360). The cry would fit well if the poet would stand near Arco Felice. Also *qua monstrat ueteres Apollo Cumas* (115) can be better understood if we arrive at Arco Felice (Nauta 2002a, 360).

[21] For representations of Domitian standing in a triumphal quadriga, holding branch and sceptre, on coins, see Mattingly 1930, plates 65.7, 66.6. Fears 1981, 80 argues that Domitian crowned the Arco Felice with a representation of Jupiter wielding the thunderbolt, at the very spot where he battled with the Giants.

minus (144) and the Sibyl's personal address to the emperor in lines 144–63.[22]

Cedamus; chely, iam repone cantus:	
uates sanctior incipit, tacendum est.	*A.* 6.65 *sanctissima uates*
En! Et colla rotat nouisque late	Luc. 5.172 per inania templi ancipiti ceruice *rotat*
bacchatur spatiis uiamque replet.	*A.* 6.78 in antro *bacchatur* uates; Luc. 5.169–70 *bacchatur* demens aliena per antrum / *colla* ferens

(Stat. *Silv.* 4.3.119–22)

> Let us retire, Lyre, now put aside your song. A holier bard begins, we must be silent. See! She whirls her neck and wanders at large over the new spaces, filling the road.

So, yet another spokesman takes over, a *uates sanctior*, the mouthpiece of Apollo himself. No better authority could be imagined than Virgil's *sanctissima uates, praescia uenturi* (*A.* 6.65–6). With *colla rotat*, "rolling her head in frenzy", Statius looks back to Vulturnus' former brutality in 79 (*rotare siluas*), repetition being an important characteristic of this poem. But at the same time Statius refers with the choice of this rare phrase to a less dignified occurrence that befell one of the Sibyl's colleagues: in Luc. 5.120–236 Appius forces the priestess of Delphi to reveal the destiny of Rome. Phemonoe does not want to, since she is aware that she will have to die afterwards. Therefore, she feigns to be in a trance. Finally she gives in: *bacchatur demens aliena ... colla ferens, / ... / per inania templi ancipiti uertice rotat* (Luc. 5.169–72). Lucan in this embarassing scene criticises both the consul's violent behaviour and the fraudulent oracles. This obviously is not Statius' intention here. His reference to the sacrilegious event in Lucan, which in itself is an imitation of the same Virgilian passage Statius has in mind (*A.* 6.77–80), seems designed to undercut his imitation of Virgil's holy book. With *albam crinibus* (116) he adds a similar humorous note: the Sibyl is entitled to white hair by now, since the day she supported Aeneas is a long time ago, much longer than the thousand years she expected to live in Ov. *Met.* 14.144–6.

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[22] See Nauta 2002a, 359–61 for discussion of a possible inauguration of the road by an imperial progress.

The Sibyl's praise (123–63)

Tunc sic uirgineo profatur ore:	
"Dicebam, ueniet (manete[23] campi	*G.* 1.493 tempus *ueniet*, cum; *A.* 1.283 *ueniet* … aetas
atque amnis), ueniet fauente caelo,	
qui foedum nemus et putres harenas	*A.* 6.792–5 condet … qui … proferet imperium
celsis pontibus et uia leuabit.	
En hic est deus, hunc iubet beatis	*A.* 6.46 deus ecce deus, 791 Hic uir, hic est, tibi quem promitti saepius audis
pro se Iuppiter imperare terris;	
quo non dignior has subit habenas	*A.* 6.164 *quo non* praestantior
ex quo me duce praescios Auerni	*Ecl.* 4.13 *te duce*; *A.* 6.59 *duce te*; *Met.* 14.112 *me duce*
Aeneas auide futura quaerens	*A.* 6.66 praescia uenturi
lucos et penetrauit et reliquit.	
	(Stat. *Silv.* 4.3.123–33)

Then thus she speaks with virgin lips: "I said it: 'He will come. Fields and river, wait! He will come by heaven's favour, he that shall raise the foul forest and powdery sand with lofty bridge and causeway.' See! He is a god, him Jupiter commands to rule the happy earth in his stead. None worthier has held reins since Aeneas with me to guide both entered and left Avernus' prescient grove, eager to learn the future.

The Sibyl phrases her prophecy, actually one long eulogy on Domitian's rule, in Virgilian language mainly taken from *Eclogue* 4 and *Aeneid* 6. The number of references as noticed and discussed by Coleman and van Dam (1992) can be increased as I hope to demonstrate.

With *En hic est deus* (128) she reminds us of Anchises' announcement of Octavian to his son Aeneas: *Hic, uir hic est* (*A.* 6.791).[24] Domitian will certainly have appreciated the change from *uir* to *deus*,

[23] Van Dam 1992 suggests to read *fauete*, but *manete i.q.* "have patience, wait" is not unusual; *OLD* s.v. 3.

[24] Newlands (2002, 314) takes Statius' phrase as reminiscent of Lucr. 5.8 (*deus ille fuit, deus*), referring to Epicurus. The reference to *A.* 6.791, however, seems confirmed by the references in lines 155–7 to that same passage.

but it is even more striking that this part of the praise is capped by having Jupiter appoint Domitian to rule the world in his place: *hunc iubet beatis / pro se Iupiter imperare terris* (128–9). That rulers were sanctioned by Jupiter is a common thought, for example in Horace *Carm.* 3.1.16 *reges in ipsos imperium est Iouis*, but in Statius Domitian goes further: he rules the world at Jupiter's own request and in his place. Naturally, the result appears to be a happy one: *beatis ... imperare terris* (128–9).

It is interesting to note that line 133 is the briefest possible summary of the 901 lines of Virgil's *katabasis*: *et penetrauit et reliquit*. Its brevity even outdoes Ovid's summary in *Met.* 14.101–57, which is often taken as an ironic and disrespectful resumé. In our case, the extreme brevity obviously diminishes the importance of Aeneas / Augustus in comparison with Domitian's.

Hic paci bonus, hic timendus armis, hic si flammigeros teneret axes, (136)	cf. *Theb.* 1.27–8 licet ignipedum frenator equorum / ipse tuis alte radiantem crinibus arcum imprimat
natura melior potentiorque, (135) largis, India, nubibus maderes, undaret Libye, teperet Haemus.	*Met.* 2.219 ardet Haemus, 237 facta est Libye ... arida

(Stat. *Silv.* 4.3.134–8)

He is friend to peace, formidable in arms. If he had the flaming sky in his keeping, better and mightier than Nature, India would be damp with generous clouds, Libya watered, Haemus warm.

If Domitian were the Sun, India would be "moist with abundant showers, Libya would stream with waters, Haemus would be warm". Coleman justly points out that the hypothetical change of the world climate illustrates Domitian's superiority over nature (135), but that is not all. In fact, Domitian would in this capacity be better than the Sun god himself, since he would improve on the present distribution of rain, heat and cold. This is a very generous compliment, and yet, it is difficult not to think at the same time of another substitute of Sol, his own son Phaethon, whose catastrophic journey in Ovid *Met.* 2.219 and following did *burn* snowcapped Mount Haemus and did *make dry* Libya (no India is mentioned there). Are we supposed not to be re-

minded of this catastrophe, or should we take the reference as "unsettling" (Newlands 2002, 315)? But of course we should have no doubts at all that Domitian would do better than Phaethon, and would even correct (Haemus) and reverse (Libye) the effects of his failure. The reference to Phaethon's tragedy thus provides a clever contribution to this already excessive praise. With the exception of Coleman and *TLL* s.v., 873.23, most scholars take *axes* as "heaven, sky" (as in *Silv.* 3.1.181; *Theb.* 8.675): "le ciel que parcourent les flammes" (Frère); "if he had the flaming sky in his keeping" (Shackleton Bailey); van Dam (1992, 204). But *flammiger* is used of the Sun's chariot in Luc. 1.48 *flammigeros Phoebi ... currus*, in a very similar speculation on Nero's future career, of the Sun in Luc. 1.415 and V. Fl. 5.581 *flammigeri proles Solis*; the plural *axes* is used of the Sun's chariot in Ov. *Met.* 2.148, of Caesar's in Prop. 3.4.13. Together with the obvious references in lines 137–8 to Ovid's tragic account, these parallels support the interpretation of Domitian's great success as charioteer of the sun here, which also in itself is more likely than that he would replace Jupiter.[25]

Salue, dux hominum et parens deorum,	Enn. *Ann.* 203 Sk. diuum pater atque hominum rex
prouisum mihi conditumque numen!	
Nec iam putribus euoluta chartis	Catul. 1.6 omne aeuum *tribus* explicare *chartis*
sollemni prece Quindecim Virorum	*A.* 6.73–4 lectosque sacrabo, / alma, uiros
perlustra mea dicta, sed canentem	
ipsam comminus, ut mereris, audi.	*A.* 6.76 ipsa canas, oro, 3.457 ipsa canat

(Stat. *Silv.* 4.3.139–44)

Hail, leader of men and parent of gods, deity by me foreseen and placed on record! Do not now scan my word unrolled on crumbling sheets to the ritual prayers of the Fifteen; but listen to me face to face as I sing, as you deserve.

Line 139 is a clever reworking of the epic formula for Jupiter: *diuum pater atque hominum rex* (Enn. *Ann.* 203 Sk., four times in *Aeneid*); since Domitian is a god himself, his children will also be gods (cf. lines 18–9). Lines 141–4 refer to *A.* 6.71–6, where Aeneas promises

[25] The thought is similar to *Theb.* 1.27–30, where Statius speculates on Domitian's future career.

the Sibyl that he will install a college of priests to take care of the oracular collection (6.72–4), the later Quindecimuiri. In 6.76 Aeneas asks her not to write her prophecies on leaves: *ipsa canas, oro*, as she does. Also in Statius the Sibyl will deliver the prophecy in person, *canentem ipsam audi*, but now of her own free will, since Domitian deserves this: *ut mereris*. He will no longer have to unroll the old rotting (*putribus*) oracular collection on the Palatine, but can listen to the Sibyl's own words. The phrase *nec iam putribus euoluta chartis* (141) is yet another reference to Neoteric poetics. In his first, programmatic poem Catullus remembers Cornelius Nepos writing his "History of the World": *omne aeuum tribus explicare chartis*. I feel that the Sibyl's *putribus euoluta chartis* recalls that Neoteric *Programmgedicht*. She denounces the collection of her oracles as written on *putribus chartis* ("rotting papyrus") and by referring to Catullus' poetics seems to announce a modern song, better adapted to the refined culture of Domitian's times.

Lines 145–63 of her eulogy rephrase both Anchises' prophecy in *A*. 6.791 and following and her own, reported, prophecy in *Ecl.* 4. Like the reference to the *Quindecimuiri sacris faciundis* in 142, the announcement of the *magnus ordo saeculorum* (147, an obvious reference to *Ecl.* 4.5) is triggered by the *Ludi Saeculares* celebrated in AD 88.[26] The phrase may be taken as "hyperbolic flattery of the emperor", but the ideology of a new era beginning under Domitian's reign was more widely spread.[27]

Vidi quam seriem uirentis aeui	Sil. 3.630 *seriem* uenturi … *aeui*
pronectant tibi candidae sorores:	
magnus te manet ordo saeculorum,	*Ecl.* 4.5 *magnus* ab integro *saeclorum* nascitur *ordo*

[26] See Jones 1992, 102–3. Domitian's celebration of the Secular Games in AD 88 was linked to the celebration by Augustus in 17 BC. The Games held by Claudius in AD 48 are left out of account. The college of *quindecimuiri sacris faciundis*, charged with the organisation, included the historian Tacitus (*Ann.* 11.11).

[27] Newlands (2002, 319) argues that the Sibyl here, like in *Aeneid* 6, reinterprets "the great order of ages" as a dream of imperial conquest, whereas in *Ecl.* 4 she prophesied a ruler who would put an end to all war. In her view, the presentation of Domitian as *belliger* would unsettle the enthusiastic discourse of praise. I do not think there is any disturbing discrepancy between the concepts of universal peace and imperial global expansion at the end of the Sibyl's speech here. Also in *Aeneid* 6, the world-encompassing Empire is a prerequisite for Virgil's dream of pastoral peace (not limited to Italy). See Smolenaars 1987.

natis longior abnepotibusque	cf. Plin. *Pan.* 94 nepotibus nostris ac pronepotibus
annos perpetua geres iuuenta	*A.* 4.32 solane *perpetua* maerens carpere *iuuenta*
quos fertur placidos adisse Nestor,	
quos Tithonia computat senectus	
et quantos ego Delium poposci.	*Met.* 14.140 mihi dabat aeternamque iuuentam

(Stat. *Silv.* 4.3.145–52)

> I have seen the procession of slow time that the white-clad Sisters weave for you. A great chain of centuries awaits you. Longer lived than your sons and great-great-grandsons, in perpetual youth you shall spend such tranquil years as Nestor is said to have attained, such as Tithonus' age computes, and as many as I asked of the Delian.

Wishing the emperor a long life is one thing, and in accordance with tradition (cf. 1.4.123–7), but "outliving your children and grandchildren" (148; Coleman) is quite another, and too much for Vollmer, who considers it "ein Zweifelhaftes Compliment", since Domitan's son died very young. Moreover, his marital state in AD 95 was not such that children were to be expected. It would be very clumsy indeed, if Statius were referring to the emperor's sons and grandsons here. Should we consider it an automatic misapplication of a traditional topos, or "a rather undiplomatic faultline in the text" (Newlands 2002, 317)? In my opinion, the poet is far too clever for that. In his *Panegyricus* Pliny prays to Jupiter to preserve Trajan *nepotibus nostris ac pronepotibus* (94). On the analogy of Pliny's prayer, I think we should take Statius' *natis longior abnepotibusque* as "longer than *our* sons and grandsons". Even then the compliment is slightly bizarre, but not "zweifelhaft". Far more exaggerated is *Silv.* 4.1.45–7, where Jupiter promises Domitian *longam iuuentam atque suos* (i.e. Jupiter's) *annos*.

So, Domitian will live *perpetua iuuenta* (149), a phrase which recalls (the only other occurrence of the phrase) Anna's words in *A.* 4.32: "will you waste all your youth alone?" As is well known, Anna convinced her sister, and this caused Dido's tragic death; compare again the reference in 62. There may be some mild irony in the phrase "for ever young" if we recognize Anna's words, but of course Domitian will do better than Dido! Even more piquant is the Sibyl's reference in 152 to her sad autobiography in *Met.* 14.140: *mihi dabat aeternamque iuuentam*. Apollo would have given her "eternal youth"

if she had complied with his sexual wishes. She had not and therefore had to live a long and tragic life.

Iurauit tibi iam niualis Arctus,	*A*. 6.16 gelidas ad *Arctos*
nunc magnos Oriens dabit triumphos.	
Ibis qua uagus Hercules et Euhan	*A*. 6.801 Alcides … obiuit, 805 Liber
ultra sidera flammeumque solem	*A*. 6.795 iacet *extra sidera* tellus, extra anni *solis*que uias
et Nili caput et niues Atlantis,	*A*.6.800 ostia *Nili*, 796 caelifer *Atlas*; *Met*. 2.254–5 *Nilus* … occuluitque *caput*, quod adhuc latet

(Stat. *Silv*. 4.3.153–7)

> Already the snowy north has sworn you fealty; now the east shall give you great triumphs. You shall go where Hercules and Euhan went, beyond stars and flaming sun and Nile's fount and Atlas' snows.

Lines 155–7 clearly recall Anchises' prophecy in *A*. 6.795–6 and 800–5. In Statius, the emperor like Augustus in Anchises' prophecy will travel beyond (*ultra*) the borders of the known world, where Hercules and Liber went (i.e. far north and far east); unlike Augustus, he will travel beyond the source (*caput*) of the Nile (south) and Mt Atlas (west). Vollmer wonders why the Nile is mentioned here, instead of the Ganges. The answer lies in Statius' imitation of *A*. 6.800 *trepida ostia Nili*, where Virgil referred to the *mouth* of the Nile. Statius substituted *Nili caput* for Virgil's *ostia Nili*, thus referring to its (as yet undiscovered) *source*. So Domitian's (planned?) expeditions will go *beyond* Mt Atlas (in *A*. 6.796: *ubi* caelifer Atlas) and *beyond* the source of the Nile. If Domitian really planned an expedition to Ethiopia in 95, he probably expected to find the source of the Nile. *Nili caput* is yet another clever reference to Ovid's Phaethon: *Nilus in extremum fugit perterritus orbem / occuluitque caput*, *quod adhuc latet* (*Met*. 2.254).

The last part of the Sibyl's ecstatic prophecy combines Horace's proud statement on the poetry of his *Odes* in *Carm*. 3.30 with Domitian's eternal power and glory:

et laudum cumulo beatus omni	Hor. *Carm.* 3.30.7–8 postera / crescam laude …, dum
scandes belliger abnuesque currus,	8–9 Capitolium / scandet cum tacita uirgine pontifex
donec Troicus ignis et renatae	
Tarpeius pater intonabit aulae,	*A*. 6.607 *intonat* ore; 8.347 ad Tarpeiam sedem et Capitolia
haec donec uia te regente terras	Hor. *S.* 1.5.104 Brundisium longae finis chartaeque uiaeque est
annosa magis Appia senescat.”	

(Stat. *Silv*. 4.3.158–63)

Warrior blest with every pile of glory, you shall ascend chariots and refuse them, so long as Trojan fire endures and the Tarpeian Fathunders in his renascent hall, until this road grows older than ancient Appia, while you rule the earth.”

Horace metaphorically calls his poetry a *monumentum* that will last longer than bronze. His fame will grow as long as the *pontifex* will climb the steps to the Capitol, i.e. as long as Rome exists, i.e. for ever. Horace’s *scandet … pontifex* is transferred by Statius to the emperor mounting his chariot in war, *scandes belliger … currus*. There is no use for a *pontifex* here, since Domitian himself is *pontifex maximus*. Whereas Horace’s “future fame will increase” (*postera crescam laude*), Domitian is even now “blessed with every increment of honour” (*laudum cumulo beatus omni*) and will be victorious in war, “as long as” (*donec*) the Trojan fire exists and Jupiter will thunder in his reborn (by Domitian) shrine, i.e. forever. Both passages refer to the icons of Rome. Lines 162–3 are problematic. The second *donec*-clause (*donec senescat*) means “until this road outlives the ancient Appian Way”. At first sight, this limitation in time (“until”) strikes us as odd following the notion of “forever” in the first *donec*-clause. But Coleman is certainly right that 162–3 postulate an *adynaton*. Since the Via Domitiana can never outlive the Appia (built in 312 BC), Domitian’s reign will be forever. In combination with its subtext, this paradox provides a clever twist to Horace’s boast: the emperor has finished his *monumentum*, the Via Domitiana, and *both* will live forever.

Domitian, however, is not the only one to have finished his *monumentum*. The poet also has brought the road and his poem to their

close. The coexistence of poem and road was announced earlier by Vulturnus in line 84 (*uictor perpetuus* legere *ripae*) and seems confirmed here by the Sibyl's intricate play with Horace's famous *exegi monumentum*. Yet another argument for this poetical interpretation is provided by Statius' allusion to the ending of Horace's *S.* 1.5, the "Journey to Brindisium" along the Via Appia: *Brundisium longae finis chartaeque uiaeque est*, earlier referred to in *fine uiae* (114). In Statius, like in Horace, *haec uia* refers to both the road and the poem in which the road and the emperor are celebrated. In consequence, the eternal fame of emperor and poet are represented as interdependent, thus providing a brilliant poem with a witty closure.

14. SATIRICAL ELEMENTS IN STATIUS' *SILVAE*: A LITERARY AND SOCIOLOGICAL APPROACH[1]

Gabriel Laguna Mariscal

1. *Introduction: The* Silvae *as an example of the* Kreuzung der Gattungen

Statius' *Silvae*, as a collection of poetry, are a prime example of the "mixture of genres" (*Kreuzung der Gattungen*).[2] The collection includes treatments of both first- and second-level genres. As far as second-level genres (or generic compositions, in the sense of Cairns 1972) are concerned, the *Silvae* are the first and only collection in Greek and Latin literature whose individual poems belong, with few exceptions, to second-level genres:[3] thus we find *epicedia* (poems of lamentation), panegyrics, *propemptika* (farewell poems), *eucharistika* (thanksgiving poems), two *genethliaka* (poems for celebrating an anniversary or birthday), an *epithalamion* (wedding song) and numerous rhetorical descriptions. For another thing, we understand by first-level genres the traditional genres (like tragedy, epic, epigram, elegy), defined basically by formal traits. The *Silvae* constitute a first-level genre in themselves, but they also allude to other first-level genres. In fact, though first-level genres feature less prominently in the collection, they are represented as well: at least two poems have a strong elegiac flavour (*Silv.* 1.2, the *epithalamion*; and 3.5, the poem addressed to Statius' wife); others are epideictic versions of epigrams (2.4, 2.5); and many *Silvae* contain epic elements, as has long been pointed out[4] and is shown in other papers included in this volume.[5]

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[2] The notion of the "Kreuzung der Gattungen" was introduced by Kroll 1924, 202–24.

[3] As was documented by Lohrisch 1905.

[4] Hardie 1983, 85–91; Taisne 1996.

[5] Gibson in this volume; van Dam in this volume.

2. *The influence of Latin satire on the* Silvae*: General traits*

On the other hand, it has not been previously suggested that another first-level genre might have provided Statius with a generic frame for his *Silvae*: the genre of Latin satire.[6] There are very interesting similarities and correspondences, both in form and in content, and in general and in specific details, between Latin satire and Statius' *Silvae*. Therefore, putting aside Lucan's *Silvae* (now lost), it is my contention that Latin satire (as represented by Lucilius, Horace and Persius) was the only previous genre that Statius could take as a general model for his *Silvae*. For one thing, as regards aspects of literary form and structure, Latin satire was written in the first person (a lyric voice speaks), in poems of medium length (in the 50–200 lines range), and in hexameters. In content, individual satires dealt with a wide variety of subjects, offering the author's commentary on a range of social attitudes.[7] All these traits were incorporated by Statius into his *Silvae*.

3. *Specific echoes of Horace's* Satires *in Statius'* Silvae

In fact, there is some concrete evidence that Statius knew Horace's *Satires* and that he imitated them as a generic model. To begin with, the title of the genre itself. The only title which Horace uses within the *Satires* themselves is *satura*.[8] Now, *satura*, the feminine of the adjective *satur*, "full", was originally a food metaphor in the phrase *lanx satura*, referring to a full dish of first-fruits offered to a deity; this is the most likely of the various lines of explanation suggested by the fourth century grammarian Diomedes.[9] Therefore, as a generic label, *satura* most probably denotes a medley.[10] On the other hand, the generic label of *Silvae* (literally "underwoods") is a metaphor which conveys also a notion of variety and miscellany.[11] To sum up, both

[6] However, Hardie 1983, 36–7 suggested briefly the relationship between Statius' *Silvae* and satire (and also epigram), both genres performing the same function of presenting "a composite view of society and of the poet's place in it" (p. 36).

[7] Cf. the contribution by Elena Merli in this volume.

[8] Hor. *S.* 2.1.1, 2.6.17.

[9] Diomedes, *G.L.* (Keil) 1.485.

[10] Coffey 1976, 11–8.

[11] For a full discussion of the title *Silvae*, see Coleman 1988, xxii–xxiv. Other critics (e.g. Nauta 2002a, 251–4) think that *silua* refers to improvisation, as in Quint. *Inst.* 10.3.17. This view seems less convincing to me.

labels (*satura*, *Silvae*) are metaphorical in origin, and both denote a medley, thus suggesting the variety of themes in the genres designated.

Furthermore, one of Horace's favorite expressions for referring to his satires is *Sermones* (literally "talks", "conversation pieces");[12] this is also the title in the ancient commentators and in the manuscript tradition. This title suggests the language of ordinary conversation and a level of informal style appropriate to it. Interestingly enough, in the preface to Book 3 of the *Silvae*, Statius calls his *Silvae* 3.5 a *sermo*, seemingly in allusion to *Sermones*, the proper label of Horace's *Satires*:

> Summa est ecloga qua mecum secedere Neapolim Claudiam meam exhortor. Hic, si uerum dicimus, sermo est, et quidem securus ut cum uxore et qui persuadere malit quam placere.
>
> (Stat. *Silv*. 3.*ep*.20–3)[13]

> Last comes a short poem in which I urge my Claudia to retire with me to Naples. This, to tell the truth, is conversation, privileged conversation with my wife, aiming to persuade rather than please.[14]

Silvae 3.5 is called a *sermo* by Statius because of its supposed conversational, relaxed tone (*quidem securus*) and because it works more as a persuasive speech than as an epideictic display (*qui persuadere malit quam placere*).[15] The most likely source of Statius' distinction here is a particular passage of Horace's *Satires*. When discussing the possibilities of the genre of satire, Horace asserts that satire admits a great variety of tones (serious/funny; solemn/frivolous):

> et sermone opus est modo tristi, saepe iocoso,
> defendente uicem modo rhetoris atque poetae
> interdum urbani, parcentis uiribus atque
> extenuantis eas consulto.
>
> (Hor. *S*. 1.10.11–4)[16]

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[12] Hor. *S*. 1.4.42; *Ep*. 1.4.1, 2.1.250, 2.2.60. For the title of Horace's *Satires*, see Coffey 1976, 68–9.

[13] The text of the *Silvae* is quoted according to the edition of Courtney 1990.

[14] All the English translations of the *Silvae* quoted in this paper come from Shackleton Bailey 2003.

[15] For a discussion of this distinction, see Hardie 1983, 182 and Laguna Mariscal 1992, 16.

[16] The text of Horace's *Satires* is quoted according to the edition of Garrod 1901.

> You also need a style which is sometimes severe, sometimes gay, now suiting the role of a orator or poet, now that of a clever talker who keeps his strength in reserve and carefully rations it out.[17]

Here Horace refers to the label of the genre (11 *sermone*) and he distinguishes two main tones: one more serious and solemn, the other more relaxed and playful. Statius takes up the term (*sermo*) and, out of the two tones established by Horace, he chooses the relaxed tone as more adequate to this particular poem.

Another specific piece of evidence suggests Horace's influence on Statius. I have remarked in my commentary to Book 3 of the *Silvae* that Statius is quite fond of evoking the beginning of a previous poem in the beginning of a silva, as a kind of literary homage and a declaration of poetic filiation.[18] As a matter of fact, the beginning of one Statian *silva* (4.6) recalls clearly the opening section of a Horatian satire (1.9):

> Forte remittentem curas Phoeboque leuatum
> pectora, cum patulis tererem uagus otia Saeptis
> iam moriente die, rapuit me cena benigni
> Vindicis.
>
> (Stat. *Silv.* 4.6.1–4)

> It happened as I wandered idly at sunset in the spacious Enclosure, my tasks put by and my mind relieved of Phoebus, that kindly Vindex took me off to dine.

> Ibam forte uia sacra, sicut meus est mos,
> nescio quid meditans nugarum, totus in illis:
> accurrit quidam notus mihi nomine tantum
> arreptaque manu "Quid agis, dulcissime rerum?"
>
> (Hor. *S.* 1.9.1–4)

> I happened to be strolling down Sacred Way, trying out some piece of nonsense as I often do and completely absorbed in it, when suddenly a fellow whom I knew only by name dashed up and seized me by the hand. "My dear chap," he said, "how are things?"

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17 All the English translations of Horace's *Satires* quoted in this paper come from Rudd 1973.

18 See Laguna Mariscal 1992, 128, *pace* the rebuttal by Hill 1996b, 33.

Both poets introduce the situation with the adverb *forte* (Stat. 1; Hor. 1).[19] In both passages the main character is wandering at random (Stat. 2, *cum ... tererem uagus otia*; Hor. 2, *nescio quid meditans nugarum*). Present participles characterize both of them (Stat. 1, *remittentem*; Hor. 2, *meditans*). The two characters are caught unawares by a fellow, whose appearance is announced by a verb in the past tense (Stat. 3, *rapuit me*; Hor. 3, *accurrit ... mihi*). In sum, the syntactical movements of both passages are quite similar.

4. *Thematic correspondences between Horatian satire and the* Silvae

Once those specific links between Latin satire and Statius' *Silvae* are accepted, it is important to assert that the main correspondences between both genres are thematic in nature. To say it briefly: both genres work as a mirror of social attitudes. Numerous social themes, dealt with both by Horace and Statius, could be put forward. For instance, in both works we find descriptions of banquets[20] and of geographical itineraries.[21] And both poets celebrate the advantages of country life in contrast with urban life in Rome.[22]

Satire was even deemed an appropriate vehicle for self-portraiture and for the expression of the author's own experiences. Thus, Horace inserts an autobiography in his *Satires* (1.6), which includes moving praise of his father (*S.* 1.6.68–99); Statius does the reverse: he writes a biography of his father (*Silv.* 5.3), which embraces some notes of autobiography (*Silv.* 5.3.209–38).[23] The relevant fact is that both poets acknowledge their parental education as the main source of their own personal merits (moral, in the case of Horace; artistic in Statius):

> Atqui si uitiis mediocribus ac mea paucis
> mendosa est natura alioqui recta, uelut si
> egregio inspersos reprendas corpore naeuos;
> si neque auaritiam neque sordis nec mala lustra

[19] Coleman 1988, 176 brings up the parallel of Hor. *S.* 1.9.1 *forte* and Stat. *Silv.* 4.6.1 *forte*.

[20] Hor. *S.* 2.2 and Stat. *Silv.* 4.2, 4.6.4–19. On this subject, see Rudd 1966, 202–23.

[21] Hor. *S.* 1.5 (*Iter Brundisinum*) and Stat. *Silv.* 4.3 (*Via Domitiana*).

[22] Hor. *S.* 2.6 and Stat. *Silv.* 3.5. The topos was a favourite with satirists: Juv. 3, 11, 14.179–205. On this literary theme, see Highet 1954, 251–2; Laguna Mariscal 1992, 344–5.

[23] For the portrait of one's father as a literary subject in Horace, Statius and Ausonius, see Önnerfors 1974.

obiciet uere quisquam mihi, purus et insons
(ut me collaudem) si et uiuo carus amicis;
causa fuit pater his.

(Hor. *S.* 1.6.65–71)

Yet if my faults are not too serious or too many, and if my nature, apart from such blemishes, is in other respects sound (just as on a handsome body you might notice a few moles), if no one can fairly accuse me of greed or meanness or frequenting brothels, if (to blow my own trumpet) my life is clean and above reproach, and if my friends are fond of me, the credit is due to my father.

Me quoque uocales lucos Boeotaque tempe
pulsantem, cum stirpe tua descendere dixi,
admisere deae; nec enim mihi sidera tantum
aequoraque et terras, quae mos debere parenti,
sed decus hoc quodcumque lyrae primusque dedisti
non uulgare loqui et famam sperare sepulcro.

(Stat. *Silv.* 5.3.209–14)

Me too, as I knocked at the vocal groves and Boeotia's vales, claiming myself sprung from your stock, did the goddesses admit. For not only stars and sea and land, the common debt of son to parent, but this grace of the lyre, whatever it be, you were the first to give me: speech beyond the vulgar, hope of fame in the grave.

Of course, there are also some differences. In general terms, the satirists present a grim vision of society, with a purpose of ethical reformation. On the contrary, Statius tends to paint a positive picture of society, celebrating the Flavian imperial regime. Several examples could be adduced. Statius usually praises certain social tastes or practices that were traditionally condemned in the Cynic diatribe and in Augustan poetry:[24] the transformation by men of the natural environment, the building of public works, the luxury, and the possession of private porticoes.[25] Another, meaningful example is the taste for collecting works of art: Horace condemns this hobby as an act of ethical foolishness (*S.* 2.3.20–36, 64), whereas Statius often praises this attitude in some of his patrons (*Silv.* 2.2.63–9, 3.1.94–5, 4.6.32–109), and

[24] For the traditional denunciation of extravagant building in the Cynic diatribe and in Augustan poetry, see Nisbet and Hubbard 1978, 288–90; van Dam 1984, 228.

[25] Statius' praise of man's dominion over Nature has been discussed by Pavlovskis 1973; van Dam 1984, 190–1, 228; Coleman 1988, 103–4; Newlands 2002, 154–98. For specific details of appraisal in the *Silvae*, see Laguna Mariscal 1992, 130, 384–5 (porticoes), 160 (collections of art), 219 (public works).

even dedicates a whole poem to describe and celebrate a small statue of Hercules owned by his patron Novius Vindex (4.6, *Hercules epitrapezios Noui Vindicis*).

However, it would be inexact to judge this positive view as a trait incompatible with the satirical genre. For even to show the positive aspects of life could be taken as a feature of satire, according to Horace's own discussion. Horace brings up Lucilius (the founder of the satirical genre in Roman literature) and states that he used satire as a mirror of his life, both in the positive and negative aspects:

> Ille uelut fidis arcana sodalibus olim
> credebat libris, neque si male cesserat usquam
> decurrens alio, neque si bene; quo fit ut omnis
> uotiua pateat ueluti descripta tabella
> uita senis.
>
> (Hor. *S.* 2.1.30–4)

> In the past he would confide his secrets to his books. He trusted them like friends, and whether things went well or badly he'd always turn to them; in consequence, the whole of the old man's life is laid before us, as if it were painted on a votive tablet.

Taking this Horatian passage (reflecting Horace's view that satire could work as a mirror of life, including its positive aspects) as a starting point, Statius could envisage the genre of satire as an artistic means for representing contemporary society from an optimistic point of view.

The thematic affinity between Latin satire and the *Silvae* is especially clear in the treatment of ethical subjects.[26] For instance, in both Horace's *Satires* and Statius' *Silvae* we read elaborate defenses of frugality, a subject to which Horace dedicated a whole satire (Hor. *S.* 2.2):

> Quae uirtus et quanta, boni, sit uiuere paruo
> (nec meus hic sermo est, sed quae praecepit Ofellus
> rusticus, abnormis sapiens crassaque Minerua),
> discite, non inter lances mensasque nitentis,
> cum stupet insanis acies fulgoribus et cum

[26] For the philosophical (Stoic, Cynic and Epicurean) background of Horace's *Satires*, see Coffey 1976, 92–6; for the Epicurean and Stoic topoi featuring in the *Silvae*, see van Dam 1984, 209; Laguna Mariscal 1996.

> acclinis falsis animus meliora recusat,
> uerum hic impransi mecum disquirite.
>
> (Hor. *S*. 2.2.1–7)

> My friends, I want you to hear about the virtues of plain living. (This task isn't mine; it reports the teaching of the countryman Ofellus, an unprofessional philosopher of sturdy common sense.) Let's consider it, not surrounded by shining tables and plate, when the eye is dazzled by senseless glitter and the mind swings in favour of the sham rejecting better things, but right here, before we have breakfast.

> neque enim ludibria uentris
> hausimus aut epulas diuerso a sole petitas
> uinaque perpetuis aeuo certantia fastis.
> A miseri, quos nosse iuuat quid Phasidis ales
> distet ab hiberna Rhodopes grue, quis magis anser
> exta ferat, cur Tuscus aper generosior Umbro,
> lubrica qua recubent conchylia mollius alga.
> Nobis uerus amor medioque Helicone petitus
> sermo hilaresque ioci brumalem absumere noctem
> suaserunt mollemque oculis expellere somnum,
>
> (Stat. *Silv*. 4.6.5–14)

> For we swallowed no stomach's mockery, fare sought from a distant clime and wine rivalling our perpetual Calendar in age. Ah, wretched are they that care to know how the bird of Phasis differs from Rhodope's winter crane, what goose gives offal rather than another, why the Tuscan boar is nobler than the Umbrian, what seaweed makes the most comfortable bed for slippery shellfish. True affection and talk sought from the heart of Helicon and many jests induced us to exhaust a winter's night and banish soft sleep from our eyes,

Besides that, Horace developed the topos of Stoic origin that personal virtue is a value to be preferred to contingent assets like nobility or wealth (*S*. 1.6.1–6). Statius defends the same proposition in several passages of his *Silvae*[27] and this theme will later be the main subject of a whole satire by Juvenal (16).

For another thing, both poets (Horace and Statius) abhor greed and appeal to a fruitful, philanthropic use of wealth, for the benefit of the public good:

[27] Stat. *Silv*. 3.3.43–58, 5.1.51–6. On this subject, see Braund 1988, 122–9; Highet 1954, 272–3; Laguna Mariscal 1996, 255–6.

quod superat non est melius quo insumere possis?
Cur eget indignus quisquam, te diuite? Quare
templa ruunt antiqua deum? Cur, improbe, carae
non aliquid patriae tanto emetiris aceruo?

(Hor. *S.* 2.2.102–5)

Well then, can't you think of a better way to get rid of your surplus? Why should any decent man be in need when you are rich? Why are the old temples of the gods falling down? Why, if you've any conscience, don't you give something from that pile you've made to the land of your birth?

non tibi sepositas infelix strangulat arca
diuitias auidique animum dispendia torquent
fenoris: expositi census et docta fruendi
temperies.

(Stat. *Silv.* 2.2.151–4)

For you no churlish money-chest keeps tight grip of hoarded wealth, no waste of greedy usury tortures your heart, but open to all are your riches, and you do enjoy them in wise restraint.

It is appropriate to finish this paper with a discussion of another ethical topos. In *Silvae* 2.2, Statius praises the ethical attitude of his patron Pollius Felix, who from a Epicurean standpoint does not share the false values and agitations of the mob:

Viue, Midae gazis et Lydo ditior auro,
Troica et Euphratae supra diademata felix,
quem non ambigui fasces, non mobile uulgus,
non leges, non castra terent; qui pectore magno
spemque metumque domas uoto sublimior omni,
exemptus fatis indignantemque refellens
Fortunam; dubio quem non in turbine rerum
deprendet suprema dies, sed abire paratum
ac plenum uita. Nos, uilis turba, caducis
deseruire bonis semperque optare parati,
spargimur in casus: celsa tu mentis ab arce
despicis errantes humanaque gaudia rides.

(Stat. *Silv.* 2.2.121–32)

Long life to you, richer than Midas' treasures and Lydian gold, fortunate beyond the diadems of Troy and Euphrates. You shall not be chafed by the dubious rods, the fickle populace, the laws, the armies; for your great soul masters hope and fear, loftier than any desire, immune from the Fates and rebuffing indignant Fortune. Your final day shall not find you caught in the doubtful whirl of events, but ready to go, fed full

> with life. We, worthless crew, ever ready to serve perishable blessings, ever hoping for more, are scattered to the wind of chance; whereas you from your mind's high citadel look down upon our wandering and laugh at human joys.

This passage develops a philosophical topos: the need for moral integrity in the face of the false values and common errors of the people. Horace had already dealt in his *Satires* with the subject of the ethical errors of the people, putting the diatribe in the mouth of Damasippus:

> Quem mala stultitia et quemcumque inscitia ueri
> caecum agit, insanum Chrysippi porticus et grex
> autumat. Haec populos, haec magnos formula reges,
> excepto sapiente, tenet. Nunc accipe, quare
> desipiant omnes aeque ac tu, qui tibi nomen
> insano posuere. Velut siluis, ubi passim
> palantis error certo de tramite pellit,
> ille sinistrorsum, hic dextrorsum abit, unus utrisque
> error, sed uariis inludit partibus;
>
> (Hor. *S.* 2.3.43–51)

> Chrysippus and his flock in the Porch maintain that a madman is one who is driven blindly on by curse of folly, in ignorance of the truth. That definition embraces mighty monarchs and people—everyone but the sage. Now this is the reason why those who call you mad are every bit as crazy as you are. You know how people lose their way in the woods: one goes wandering off to the left, another to the right; both are equally wrong, though each has strayed in a different direction.

As a remarkable coincidence (or, more likely, as a result of conscious imitation), this moral mistake is called *error* by both Horace (*S.* 2.3.49, 51) and Statius (*Silv.* 2.2.132, *errantes*). Furthermore, the picture of the upright man, who having lived honestly abandons life like a guest who has been satisfied at the dinner table (Stat. *Silv.* 2.2.128–9), comes clearly from another satirical passage of Horace (who, in his turn, adapted Lucr. 3.934):[28]

> Inde fit ut raro, qui se uixisse beatum
> dicat, et exacto contentus tempore uita
> cedat uti conuiua satur, reperire queamus.
>
> (Hor. *S.* 1.1.117–9)

[28] For the image of the dinner guest in Horace (*S.* 1.1.117–9), see Coffta 2001, 21–3.

> So it is that we can rarely find a man who says he has lived a happy life and who, when his time is up, contentedly leaves the world like a guest who has had his fill.

5. *Conclusion*

Statius took Latin satire (and especially, Horace's *Satires*) as a generic reference for his *Silvae*, both in general formal aspects and in thematic topoi. Numerous correspondences and links could be cited, but I restricted my exposition only to a few of them. As a corollary of my thesis, it would be fruitful to survey the influence of Statius' *Silvae* on Juvenal's *Satires*. It is remarkable that Juvenal is the only classical author who mentions Statius (Juv. 7.82–7). And Juvenal develops several topoi deriving from Statius' *Silvae*.[29] But further discussion of this issue must be relegated to another occasion.

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[29] The theme of true nobility has already been mentioned (Stat. *Silv*. 3.3.43–58, 5.1.51–6; Juv. 8), as well as praise of countryside life (Stat. *Silv*. 3.5; Juv. 3, 11, 14.179–205). The description of Epia's unfaithfulness (Juv. 6.90–102) looks like an ironical imitation of the Statian picture of his wife's faithfulness (Stat. *Silv*. 3.5.18–22); on this topos, see Laguna Mariscal 1992, 357–8 and 1996, 178–9.

15. IDENTITY AND IRONY. MARTIAL'S TENTH BOOK, HORACE, AND THE TRADITION OF ROMAN SATIRE

Elena Merli

Although Martial strongly invokes the Latin epigrammatic tradition in his poetological statements—and thus in part actually constitutes this tradition—the intertextual references in his poetry point far beyond the genre of epigram. In his monograph on Martial, John Sullivan briefly discusses the role of satire and elegy in his view our poet's most important intertextual points of reference. According to Sullivan, Martial takes from satire his critical view of society and human behavior, and from elegy especially the element of self-representation. Even prior to Sullivan, of course, the question of Martial's relationship to satire was posed frequently, and the answers focused on the humorous and mimic elements; on the poet's description of "types" such as the parvenu, the hypocrite and the legacy-hunter; and on his criticism of Roman society and the system of *clientela*.[1]

To my mind, the limitation of this approach consists in the difficulty of adequately defining the object "satire". Scholarship has too often abstained from seeking precise, concrete lines and tendencies of development in this genre, and done so in good conscience on the grounds of satire's intrinsic *uarietas*.[2] As far as our topic is concerned, this fact has led to a kind of optical illusion: the relationship between Martial and Juvenal has moved to center stage, while Martial's much broader and more nuanced relationship to the various forms and stages of the satirical tradition has receded into the background.

Martial's epigrams do, in fact, draw strongly on satire. In this paper, I would like to attempt in particular to demonstrate the existence of a privileged relationship between Martial and Horace's works in hexameters. The most interesting and specific elements connecting Horace and Martial are not, however, primarily of a humorous or mimic character. The significant, if not exclusive attention that schol-

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[1] Sullivan 1991, 103–6, 259–65. See also Mendell 1922; Duff 1937, 127–46; Szelest 1963; Laurens 1989, 229–51 and *passim*.

[2] However, see Freudenburg 2001.

ars have devoted to these aspects appears to be the result of Juvenal's presence obstructing the view: his satire together with the so-called satirical epigram of Lucillius have been simply projected backwards, thus creating the lens through which the relationship between Martial and Horace's *sermo* is generally viewed.

Two premises. The first: a highly relevant text of Horace's for Martial, his second epode, will be left aside completely here as it does not hold a place in the satirical tradition, despite showing strong correspondences with this tradition in terms of both themes and narrative technique. Furthermore, the *persona loquens* in the second epode is "the usurer Alphius", while in the hexametric texts that we will be examining, it is "the poet Horace". In other words, in the satires the situation is expressed through the poet's "I", while in the epode it is conveyed through an "other voice"—an important distinction for the rest of my analysis.

The second premise: in the following, I will deal with the subject of Horace's *sermo*—that is, his *Satires* and *Epistles*—without distinguishing sharply between these groups of works. Classifying the two as belonging to one and the same genre would of course be going too far, but nevertheless, with Horace, the *Satires* and *Epistles* are parts of an organic poetic development.[3] It is important that the later satirists recognized a *lato sensu* satirical potential in Horace's *Epistles* and that they made use of it in their own work: recall here Persius 6, which begins as an epistle; or the relationship of Juvenal 11 to Horace *Ep.* 1.5 (to Torquatus). Among modern authors, an example is Ludovico Ariosto, whose satires have the form and character of a letter.

What I would like to discuss here deals with the relationship between Horace and Martial as constituted in the tenth book of *Epigrams*, and especially with two closely related topics: the motif of the countryside and places distant from Rome on the one hand, and the depiction of chaotic life in the city on the other. The considerations that I put forward here can in no way deal exhaustively with the topic of Martial's relationship to Horace's hexameter poems: rather, I hope to contribute one piece to a mosaic that will slowly grow, change and take shape over time.

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[3] According to Fraenkel 1957, 310.

1. *The poet and the countryside*

Martial's tenth book of *Epigrams*, which has come down to us only in a revised second version, is the last book the poet wrote in Rome. The choice of topics is strongly determined by his imminent return to Spain: seven epigrams deal with the return, and six either address friends who themselves are about to depart for vacation or embark on long journeys, or praise peaceful, pleasant country estates and seaside residences.[4]

Many more epigrams than in the previous books are devoted to this richly complex, but in itself coherent topic. Up to this point, for example, only two epigrams dealt with the poet's Iberian homeland (1.49, 4.55) except for brief allusions in other contexts.

The quantitative aspect is not, however, the most relevant difference between the tenth book and the earlier books in the constitution of the city/country or Rome/province antithesis. The descriptions of vacation spots and references to stays outside Rome merge here with the deep, unmistakable expression of weariness and the desire to flee from the *uita occupata* of the capital city. In epigram 12, for example, the poet addresses Domitius Apollinaris[5] who is just departing for Vercelli, and urges him to soak up the sun there to reap the envy of the *pallida turba* of city-dwellers upon his return. His bronzed skin will soon fade, however, robbed of its hue by Rome:

> I precor et totos auida cute conbibe soles—
> o quam formonsus, dum peregrinus eris!
> Et uenies albis non adgnoscendus amicis
> liuebitque tuis pallida turba genis.
> Sed uia quem dederit rapiet cito Roma colorem,
> Niliaco redeas tu licet ore niger.
>
> (Mart. 10.12.6–12)

> Go, I beg, and let your greedy hide drink sunshine in full measure. How handsome you will be, so long as you stay abroad! And you will come back unrecognizable to your whey-faced friends; the pallid throng will

[4] Return home: 13, 37, 78, 92, 96, 103, 104. Friends who are leaving, and *uillae*: 12, 30, 44, 51, 58, 78; see also 93. A list of epigrams in the tenth book that are not set in the city can be found in Spisak 2001–2; the situation of Martial "between home and Rome" is touched on by Fearnley 2003.

[5] On the identification, see Nauta 2002a, 159–61 and 2005, 222–7.

> envy your cheeks. But Rome will soon rob you of the color the road has given, though you return black-faced as a son of Nile.[6]

In epigram 30, the elegant description of Apollinaris' *uilla* begins with the observation that the owner seeks respite from the stress of Rome: a remark that is otherwise nowhere to be found in praises of patrons' *uillae* in the writings of either Martial or Statius. The choice of words in verses 1–4 describes the burdens of city life from whose cares *fessus* Apollinaris literally takes flight:

> O temperatae dulce Formiae litus,
> uos, cum seueri fugit oppidum Martis
> et inquietas fessus exuit curas,
> Apollinaris omnibus locis praefert.
>
> (Mart. 10.30.1–4)

> Temperate Formiae, sweet shore! When Apollinaris flees stern Mars' town and in weariness puts restless cares aside, he prefers you to all other places.

Epigram 51 can be mentioned in this context as well: life in the capital, as glamorous as it may be, holds no attraction for the *lassus* Faustinus, who yearns for the calm of his *uilla* in Anxur.[7] The two most detailed descriptions of *uillae* in the previous books (those of Faustinus in Baiae, 3.58, and of Iulius Martialis on the Ianiculum, 4.64) do not contain any such passages: Faustinus' *uilla* is not opposed to the city but to Bassus' *rus suburbanum*; and while Iulius' house is praised for its seclusion from the noise of city traffic in lines 18–24, this reflection does not lead to any statements about being tired or weary of life in Rome. Quite to the contrary, this text appears to place prime value on the advantageousness of being located close to the city yet distant from unpleasant city noise.[8] Furthermore, both texts underscore the mixed character of the *uillae*: they fuse rural calm and relaxation with a modicum of urban comfort. Thus Faustinus employs *pueri capillati* and a *eunuchus* in his villa (30–2), who obviously are devoted to commitments different from the urban ones; while the epigram for Iulius notes: *hoc rus, seu potius domus uocanda est*, "this country place, or perhaps it should rather be styled a city mansion"

[6] The translations of the Martial quotations are from Shackleton Bailey 1993.

[7] On the identification of this addressee, see Nauta 2002a, 68 with n. 98.

[8] The proximity to the city is seen in 6.43 as something positive: *nunc urbis uicina iuuant facilesque recessus* (on the country estate near Nomentum); see also some descriptions of *uillae suburbanae* in Plin. *Ep.* 1.24.3 and 2.17.2.

(25).[9] This kind of praise does not play a central role in the epigrams in the tenth book to country estates and seaside *uillae*, with the minor exception of the definition of a *uilla* in Anxur as a *litoranea domus* in epigram 58.

From my discussion the conclusion emerges that in the tenth book Martial transfers to his friends and patrons viewpoints and considerations that apply to his own situation as constituted and portrayed within the text. See, for example, epigram 58:

> … nunc nos maxima Roma terit.
> Hic mihi quando dies meus est? Iactamur in alto
> urbis, et in sterili uita labore perit.
>
> (Mart. 10.58.6–8)

> … now mightiest Rome wears us out. When do I have a day to call my own here? I am tossed in the city's ocean and life goes to waste in fruitless toil.

(The *uilla* of Frontinus in Anxur represents the positive pole here.) The contrast between city and country is also emphasized in epigram 96, and evoked indirectly by the copresence of several other passages devoted exclusively to Martial's Spanish homeland (13, 103, 104), and epigrams in which he expresses in bitter, direct terms his weariness of the numerous, pointless obligations of *clientela* and his exhaustion with chaotic city life (see especially epigrams 70 and 74).

Countryside and province thus become the main focus of the book. However, they are not portrayed solely in themselves as in the epigrams dealing with vacation themes in Martial's other books,[10] but in the context of repeated and express juxtapositions where they form a positive antipode to draining city life. In not one of his other books are we met with such a marked antithesis,[11] surprisingly not even in the third book, where the subject is Martial's stay in Cispadana, which he explains as a reaction to an edict by Domitian that made the lives of the poorest people under the *clientes* even harder. Although the third book contains several epigrams concerning the Cispadane territory, nowhere does one find the landscape and peacefulness of Cispadana

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[9] *Domus* usually designates the house in the city. Variations on the theme in 8.68 and 12.57.18–25, in which the *domus* of Sparsus is referred to as a *rus in urbe* (line 21). See also the end of 3.58, which, however, also contains a polemical nuance against the barren country estate of Bassus: *rus hoc uocari debet, an domus longe?*

[10] See for example 4.57, 5.71, 6.43.

[11] It otherwise only appears in 1.49, 1.55, 2.90.

forming a contrast to the stress of Rome. Not only is there a lack of direct, express comparison between the capital and the province; the epigrams located in Cispadana are in most cases scoptic in tone.[12] In the third book, the critical position taken on life in Rome does not lead to the counterimage of a healthy and positive province.

Epigram 4.25, which praises the small town of Aquileia and its surroundings, appears to be inspired by a critical attitude toward urban life (some of the epigrams in the fourth book refer to the situation in the previous book and the vacation in Cispadana). However, the text consists mainly of a long, detailed enumeration of mythological figures (such as Phaethon, Faunus, Cyllarus) and finds no words to describe the geographical location or to laud the rural calm. It proves to be an elegant exercise in style in which the contrast to life in Rome remains entirely implicit.

Since the motif of country life can be found in many literary genres, it is of course not enough to merely identify its presence in a text: rather, one must investigate how and to what ends it is being employed in each specific case. By looking at factors like the attitude of the "I" in the text or the combination of country life with other *topoi*, one can attempt to answer this central question.[13] For the time being, suffice it to say that the contrast between country and city plays a very minor role in the (Greek and Latin) tradition of epigram (I am referring, of course, to this relationship as it is textually enacted). In Latin, one may recall an epigram of pseudo-Seneca that contrasts villa life to a military or political career, epigram 41 Prato. In this text, the motif is the choice of a life, not an antithesis between city and country. The "I" possesses only a *rus paruum* and a *fenus paruum*, "a little country estate and a little interest", but he also has *quies*, "calm", and happily leaves to others the *operosa castra*, "military camps buzzing with activity", or the *sellae curules*, "curule chairs".

In the fourth century, Naucellius paints a very agreeable picture of his *uilla* in Spoleto, but still does not portray this property in polemical terms as an antithesis to life in Rome. Quite to the contrary: for the wealthy Naucellius, the *uilla* in Spoleto and the *domus* in the capital

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[12] Landscape elements only appear in epigrams 67 and 93.8; the scommatic epigrams 16, 56, 57, 59, 91 and 99 should be situated in the context of Cispadana. See Citroni 1987.

[13] A very few mentions of rural life in Roman literature: Kier 1933; Vischer 1965; Leach 1988.

appear to have complemented each other.[14] The Latin genre of epigram thus offers only isolated and scarcely applicable parallels. In the Greek epigram tradition, a strong city-country antithesis is nowhere to be found at all, which is particularly striking in view of the much larger number of Greek than Latin epigrams that have survived the centuries.[15]

It is of relevance here that the specific form of contrast between city and country in Martial's tenth book can be found in satirical poetry, particularly in Horace's *sermo*. The genre of epigram—by nature anything but thematically rigid—expands further with Martial both in this case and others to encompass, assimilate and reshape ways of looking at the world and facets of reality that previously were typical of other genres.

In Horace's hexameter poems, the countryside is a "civilized" landscape: a place of simple, autonomous life—an explicit counterpoise to the *uita occupata* and the obligations of *clientela*.[16] In his *Satires*, this scenario is connected more closely to the writing of poetry (see 2.3 and 6), whereas in his *Epistles*, it is connected more to philosophical considerations. A short, only partial overview: *Satire* 2.6 laments the fruitless *officia* in the city and voices a longing for the Sabinum. An inventory of onerous duties ends with the exclamation:

> O rus quando ego te adspiciam? Quandoque licebit
> nunc ueterum libris nunc somno et inertibus horis
> ducere sollicitae iucunda obliuia uitae?
>
> (Hor. *S.* 2.6.60–2)

> O rural home: when shall I behold you! When shall I be able, now with books of the ancients, now with sleep and idle hours, to quaff sweet forgetfulness of life's care![17]

Of central importance here is the thought that people should be able to enjoy their own possessions, a motif that Martial transfers to the patrons Faustinus and Apollinaris in his tenth book. Epistle 1.10 praises

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[14] For pseudo-Seneca, see also epigram 72 Prato; on Naucellius see *Epigrammata Bobiensia* 2–9.

[15] Elliger 1975, 376–98.

[16] Most studies on landscape in Horace are devoted to his lyric poetry, see especially Troxler-Keller 1964. On *Sabinum* see i.a. Leach 1993; Schmidt 1997. Observations on the relationship between city and country in the *Epistles* in Hirt 1985 (on 1.1); Ferri 1993, 15–33.

[17] The translations of the Horace quotations are from Fairclough 1926.

the autonomy of life in the country, where Horace "lives and rules" at a safe distance from the rich and powerful (the *reges*) and their friends: life on the Sabinum is not depicted here in isolation, but in the context of a clearly and fundamentally critical stance on life in Rome. Epistle 1.14 addresses the bailiff of the property, whom Horace envies because he can—in contrast to the poet himself—live in the country. Martial closes his description of Apollinaris' *uilla* (10.30) with similar reflections:

> Frui sed istis quando, Roma, permittis?
> Quot Formianos inputat dies annus
> negotiosis rebus urbis haerenti?
> O ianitores uilicique felices!
> dominis parantur ista, seruiunt uobis.
>
> (Mart. 10.30.25–9)

> But when does Rome allow him to enjoy all this? How many Formian days does the year chalk up for one involved in the city's busy affairs? Lucky janitors, lucky bailiffs! These delights are acquired for their owners, but it is you they serve.

The combination of the city-country antithesis with the topical servant-master contrast creates a specific connection between the two texts: and this connection is in its turn a clue of the relationship between the genres to which these texts belong and of their modes of representing reality. Martial's tenth book portrays the country as the antipode to the city without seeking a compromise between the two scenarios and ways of life. This attitude points much more strongly to the tradition of satire than to that of epigram.

A privileged relationship can be established between Martial and Horace's first book of *Epistles* in particular. Martial gives the biographical fact of his own return to Celtiberia literary form by referring to Horace's secluded life on the Sabinum and his longing for the countryside. Often, authors of antiquity (as well those of the modern age) select elements from their own lives and impart meaning to them through literary reminiscences. "The fact that literature talks about literature not only does not prevent it from talking about the world as well;"[18] the literary tradition and intertextual references are indeed decisive in portraying the world and in characterizing the "I".

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[18] According to Compagnon 1998, 133. See also Citroni 1993, 275–92, especially 291–2. My interpretation does not intend to call into question the importance of the satirica *persona* in Roman literature as demonstrated by W.S. Anderson and S.

Like Horace's first book of *Epistles*, Martial's tenth book depicts the poet as a weary man of advanced age.[19] Like Horace's first book of *Epistles*, it portrays the countryside more as a place of relaxation and calm than as a context that fosters poetic inspiration. In general, the countryside in both books is free of such poetic symbols as holy springs and meadows, and of any images of wild and sublime nature that evoke inspired poetry.[20] With Horace, such images appear almost exclusively in lyric poetry, while with Martial they are extremely rare. Even more important: Martial uses them much more frequently as a compliment to the poetry of powerful patrons than in relation to his own work.[21]

2. *The poet in the city*

Let us turn to the way that our two poets describe the urban *officia*. In this case as well, a privileged intertextual relationship can be identified. The prototype for the description of the *uita occupata* in the capital is a famous passage in Horace's epistle to Florus:

> Praeter cetera me Romaene poemata censes
> scribere posse inter tot curas totque labores?
> Hic sponsum uocat, hic auditum scripta relictis

Braund in particular. However, I believe that in its "pure form" the function of this element has been exhausted. Today the objective must be to bring complexity and tension into this picture, to replace the rigid idea of the mask with the flexible concept of the "role", and thus to reestablish a connection between the author *within* the text and the author *of* the text. Scholars have long advocated work in this direction (see Conte 1991, 90–1) and do so today with increased urgency: see also the works mentioned in note 32 below, and for more recent positions, Nauta 2002b and Gowers 2003.

[19] The stylization of the author as an old man in Martial's tenth book is mentioned in passing by Lorenz 2002, 230; he does not interpret it in relation to Horace and comes to other conclusions than I do.

[20] On the relationship between a specific type of landscape and the high genres, I can only mention the words of Maternus (that is, a tragic poet) in Tac. *Dial.* 12, *secedit animus in loca pura atque innocentia, fruiturque sedibus sacris*, and to the poetic symbols in Juv. 7.57–60: it deals with a *uatis egregius* and the genres of lyric and later of epic.

[21] For poetic symbols and poetry of patrons see e.g. 6.47.1–4 (Stella), 7.63.3–4 (Silius Italicus), 8.70.3–5 (Nerva); in 9.58 and 84 the characteristics of a literary landscape in fact refer to Martial's own poetry, but they function to my mind primarily as a compliment to the addressee in question (Sabina, Norbanus) and should be read less as poetological statements.—On the relationship between landscape character and genre in Horace, see also Leach 1993 and Mayer 1994, 47.

> omnibus officiis; cubat hic in colle Quirini,
> hic extremo in Auentino, uisendus uterque …
>
> (Hor. *Ep*. 2.2.65–9)

> Besides all else, do you think I can write verses at Rome amid all my cares and all my toils? One calls me to be surety, another, to leave all my duties and listen to his writings. One lies sick on the Quirinal hill, another on the Aventine's far side, I must visit both.

Shortly thereafter, the text turns to the subject of chaotic street traffic (lines 72–6) amidst which it is entirely impossible to concentrate on writing poetry: *i nunc et uersus tecum meditare canoros*, "now go, and thoughtfully con melodious verses".

It is significant here that Horace portrays himself not as a common citizen suffering from the noise and obligations, but as a poet in the city. The result of the traffic and the *officia*, therefore, is the impossibility of devoting oneself effectively—undisturbed—to poetry. With Martial, the motif of noise and chaos appears frequently and forms a topos in his descriptions of city life.[22] For us, the crucial point is that he portrays himself in this context as a poet, and that he too complains of the *officia* because they keep him from writing verse. Such laments are particularly bitter in the tenth book (epigrams 58, 70).[23] One may take epigram 70 as an example: a certain Potitus criticizes the poet for his meager production and alleged laziness; Martial answers that it is a wonder if he is even able to finish one book a year since whole days are wasted on meaningless activities: *labantur toti cum mihi saepe dies*, "when whole days often slip away from me". A list of *officia* follows: the *salutatio*, the testimony, the time wasted at an official ceremony or even at the *recitatio* of a poet.

In the tenth book, Martial's topical lamentation on the *uita occupata* is combined with the motif of writing poetry. Here, the time lost in the *officia* is not simply taken from the *uiuere sibi* but is drained from poetry. The vivid, animated image of stressful everyday life in the capital city is thus depicted not from the outside, but by a figure who is a poet, says "I" in the text and casts himself as the self-portrait

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[22] See 5.22 and 12.57; the motif also appears i.a. in Sen. *Ep*. 56 and 83.7.

[23] See also 11.24 and the brief mention in the prefatory letter to the twelfth book, where *urbanae occupationes* are the subject. Before this, the motif appears in only two epigrams in the first book, 70 and 108, which deal with the motif of the *salutatio*—an *officium* for which the poet has no time; in both epigrams there are no signs that he is weary of life in Rome, and the *salutatio* is not connected with the list of other irksome or tedious obligations.

of the author—a figure situated and formed within the image itself. In my view, it is precisely this figure of the poet in the city that constitutes the most important intertextual link between Martial's tenth book of *Epigrams* and Horace's *sermo*. The epigrammatic text constructs a first-person narrator who has the role of a poet in Roman society, who shares cultural interests with friends and patrons, and who tells the reader about his activities as a poet. It is a textual construction, which I will call "autobiographical figure", where "figure" has the double meaning of "Gestalt" and "tropos". Concrete biographical details incorporated into this "I" attain symbolic valence: the provincial origins, the relationships to a few close friends, the wearisomeness of urban life, and the desire to retire to the countryside. Horace's model influences not only the character of this "I", but also the selection of details and their function in the text.

I would now like to point out an important difference between the texts examined thus far and Juvenal's satire 3 in order to more precisely define Martial's relationship to the genre of satire. As is well known, Juvenal adopts Horace's image of urban life in this satire. Recall, for example, the image of Rome he paints in lines 235–46 and 254–60: it is impossible to get any sleep, the traffic in the narrow streets pits pedestrians against oncoming cattle and wagons, the surging masses are crushed together in chasm-like passageways, and a beam transported on a cart swings back and forth precariously.

The figure leaving the city behind in Juvenal's satire is Umbricius—that is, an "other voice":[24] Horace, in contrast, portrays an autobiographical figure who is exhausted by the *officia* and spends as much time as possible on the Sabinum. Martial tells of his vacations (in his third, fourth and sixth books)[25] and of his return to Spain (in the tenth and twelfth books). Furthermore, Juvenal's Umbricius is scarcely fleshed out as an individual at all: he himself and his everyday life and experiences are given only extremely limited space within the text, and the chaos of Rome is described more "from the outside" than through its specific effects on the situation of the narrator.

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[24] Umbricius should not be understood as the *alter ego* of Juvenal, although he shares many views and positions with him. See Adamietz 1971, 10 and Braund 1988, 12–5.

[25] On the third book, see note 12 above; in the fourth book, see especially 57, in the sixth book, see especially 43.

Two general remarks: first, Juvenal is seldom portrayed as a figure involved in the action in his first three books of satire—his figure never plays a role in the scenes and situations that the text portrays. Second, in the last satirist's entire *corpus*, the idea that Rome's noise and chaos pose an obstacle to writing poetry or intellectual concentration is not mentioned a single time. It appears that the complex of motifs contained in the epistle to Florus is divided down the middle, with Martial describing the "I" as a poet in the city, and Juvenal describing the city itself, the latter producing an account that is equally tendentious but whose subjectivity takes other paths than first-person narrative. In contrast to Horace und Martial, Juvenal's oeuvre contains no figure of the poet and intellectual that can be read as a self-portrait: only in his programmatic first satire does the "I" refer to himself as a satirist[26] and not even in the seventh satire does the narrator portray himself as an individual, although the theme (the critical situation of intellectuals in Rome) would have offered this possibility.[27]

Against the background of the approach pursued thus far, an interpretation of the history of the genre of satire begins to emerge that I can only briefly sketch out here. One important tendency leads toward a gradually increasing selection and reduction of certain motifs (for example: *parrhesia*, irony, "autobiography").[28] What is relevant for us is the reduction and ultimate disappearance of the figure of the poet altogether: a figure who says "I" in the text, who has the same name as the historical author and relays episodes and details from the life of an intellectual in Roman society. With Lucilius and Horace, the nuanced and complex portrayal of such an "I" can be reconstructed. The satirists of the imperial age, on the contrary, tend to be observers of a picture in which they themselves seldom appear as active participants. With Persius, the portrayal of the "I" appears in the context of friendship and *sermo* in only two places: in the homage to the teacher Cor-

[26] Verses 15–8 of the first satire also contain a short "autobiographical" sketch. See Keane 2002.

[27] In the seventh satire, one encounters only a very general-sounding *nos* (v. 48) that applies to poets and their situation, and scholarship has frequently even perceived an ironic distance in the verses on their sad living conditions: for example, see Braund 1988, 34–43, 54–60. On Juvenal as an "impersonal poet" see Coffey 1976, 136; on the "Zurücktreten der Persönlichkeit" in Juvenal in comparison to Horace, see Wicke 1967, 92–8.

[28] Knoche 1982, 92 discusses the "Einschränkung der Themen" in Juvenal; see also Citroni 1991, 165.

nutus at the beginning of satire 5 and in the incipit of satire 6, which starts as an epistle to Caesius Bassus. These are two occurrences *in limine* of each satire, two places that differ unmistakably from the rest of Persius' work. In the early Juvenal, there is not a single case of an "I" depicted as an autobiographical figure.[29]

With Lucilius, the element "poet in Roman society" combined with the quality of aggressiveness constituted one pole in the satirical genre, and it played a central role with Horace as well. This element experiences a drastic reduction in imperial satire, leaving behind a void (the autobiographical element, so to speak, which the genre of satire no longer claimed as its own). It is this space that Martial's epigram "occupies". Through insight into the strong internal differentiation and development of the genre between (to put it very schematically) the Augustan und Trajanic epochs, it becomes possible to define the relationship between Martial and the tradition of Roman satire both more precisely and from a new perspective.

In conclusion, the question arises as to the function of references to Horace's *sermo* in Martial. The intertextual variety found in Martial's work—the openness of his texts to models outside the epigrammatic tradition—bears witness to the poet's most ambitious goal, that of lifting the genre of epigram out of occasional poetry and entertainment and rooting it in the literary system.[30] To signal the literary status of his texts, the poet avails himself of complex strategies. Among them, he makes reference to more elevated genres such as satire, epistle and elegy, each of which possesses its own *lignée*, history and place within the literary system. It must be noted that while these genres are higher, they are not *too* high: a close allusion to epic or tragedy might have resulted in bathos, and thus in parody.[31]

The references to Horace emphasized in the preceding are connected to a central component of Martial's poetry: the portrayal and constitution in the text of his own figure as a poet and identity as an

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[29] This simplified picture of Juvenal can and should be further differentiated with relation to 1.15–8 (see note 26 above) and to the conclusion of the third *Satire*.

[30] Martial's program of ennobling the epigram is demonstrated by such poetological statements as those in 4.49 and 10.4; 12.94.9 discusses the lower status of the epigram on the scale of the genres. See Citroni 1968.

[31] On the importance of an analysis that does not examine the genres in isolation but rather in the context of their interrelationships within the literary system, see Barchiesi 2002.

intellectual.[32] This component is particularly evident in Book 10, where the decision of returning to Spain represents a turning point, but it operates all over Martial's work: it becomes the clue of a relationship between Martial and Horace, whose textual enactment needs to be further investigated.

Not only does Martial attempt to establish the epigram as part of the literary system by making reference to higher texts; his strategy also entails constructing an identity and history as a poet by referring to the biographies of these same higher texts' authors—here I am thinking not only of Horace but also of Ovid. While the intertextual relationship to Catullus is manifest, rich in *motti* and quotes and thus serves in a sense as a trademark for the genre of epigram, Martial's relationship to Horace is less apparent: its effects, however, are far-reaching in the way that it shapes and orients the relationship between text and world.[33]

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[32] See Greenblatt's 1980 concept of self-fashioning and its reception by the scholarly research on Latin poetry, for example in Hinds 1998, 123–44 and Oliensis 1998; whithout express reference to Greenblatt, see Krasser 1995. See also the works mentioned in note 18 above and the bibliography which is inspired by the so-called career criticism, like Cheney and De Armas 2002, even if Horace has not received yet enough attention in this.

[33] This article forms part of a larger research project I am completing on the epigrams of Martial and the Roman literary system. I wish to thank the Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft (DFG) for generously funding this project.

16. THE UNITY OF MARTIAL'S *EPIGRAMS*

Lindsay C. Watson

In the first, theoretical section of his *Verstreute Anmerkungen über das Epigram* ("Desultory Remarks on the Epigram"), published in 1771,[1] G.E. Lessing posed the question "What is an epigram?" Rejecting Batteux's view that an epigram is a poem which expounds "an interesting thought, presented felicitously and in a few words",[2] a *breue uiuidumque carmen*, "a short and lively poem", to use Martial's phrase (12.61.1), Lessing arrived at a far more circumscribed position, one which reflected his perception that it is *form*, rather than subject matter, which defines an epigram:[3] an epigram, he stated, consists of two parts, an *Erwartung*, "set up", in which the reader's curiosity is aroused regarding some noteworthy or unusual phenomenon, and an *Aufschluss*, "conclusion", in which the author presents his own, often witty, comment on, or explanation of, the foregoing. The *Erwartung*, in Lessing's schema, corresponded to the monument or object upon which epigrams were originally engraved; the *Aufschluss* to the inscription, or epigram proper, carved upon the physical object, which by its verbal content satisfied the interest of the passer-by, aroused by the sight of the physical structure. Lessing was not the first to propose that an epigram typically exhibits a bipartite structure.[4] But what distinguished him from his predecessors is his insistence on the absolute centrality of this division to the functioning of an epigram. So wedded intellectually was Lessing to the dogma of the bipartite structure that he explicitly denied the label "epigram" to poems exhibiting only one of his two constituent parts, i.e. an *Erwartung* but no *Aufschluss*, or

1 Lessing 1771, 67–103.
2 Lessing 1771, 69.
3 Lessing 1771, 69.
4 He names as his predecessors in this regard Julius Caesar Scaliger, Vavasseur and Batteux: cf. Barwick 1959, 3, and for further proponents of bipartition, Weinreich 1926, 10–1.

vice versa:[5] such pieces were, to his mind, no true representatives of the genre, merely *Aftergattungen*, "bastardised instances", of it.[6]

Of all the ancient epigrammatists, it is Martial, whom Lessing viewed as the supreme practitioner of the genre, who most closely conforms to the pattern which he erected: his schema is manifestly derived from the bipartite structure typically to be found in Martial's *Epigrammata*, above all his satiric epigrams; for Lessing was reluctant to allow that Martial's sententious (and perhaps his epideictic) pieces could be classed as genuine epigrams.[7] That it was the scoptic pieces which served as Lessing's theoretical paradigm is put beyond doubt by his requirement that the *Aufschluss* should consist of an unexpected or pointed conclusion,[8] for this is precisely the most distinctive characteristic of Martial's satiric pieces, as in the following instance from Book 11.

> Multis iam, Lupe, posse se diebus
> pedicare negat Carisianus.
> Causam cum modo quaererent sodales,
> uentrem dixit habere se solutum.[9]
>
> (Mart. 11.88)

> Carisianus says, Lupus, that he has been unable to sodomise for many days now. When his friends recently asked him why, he said that he was suffering from loose bowels.

Here the concluding disclosure that Carisianus is suffering from diarrhoea explodes the illusion, nurtured by *pedicare* ("sodomise"), that Carisianus plays a sexually active role, unmasking him, shamefully, as the penetrated rather than the penetrator.[10] Also in conformity with Lessing's view of the ideal epigram is the characteristically Martialian brevity of the final gibe, for "terseness", he said, "must be the first and foremost characteristic of the *Aufschluss* of an epigram".[11]

Lessing's analysis, then, is crucially keyed to the Martialian technique of the surprise ending which radically recontextualises the sense

5 Lessing 1771, 73–83.
6 Lessing 1771, 73, 77.
7 Lessing 1771, 73–4.
8 Lessing 1771, 73, 82, 99–102.
9 Cf. Mart. 11.40.
10 For the shame which attached to a Roman male's playing the receptive role in sexual intercourse, see Walters 1997.
11 Lessing 1771, 91.

of what has gone before, and is predicated on a bipartite structure, ubiquitous in Martial, consisting of a false expectation or incomplete analysis which is subsequently confounded by the concluding revelation that things are not as they initially seemed. It is therefore unsurprising that, despite sporadic attacks in recent years, Lessing's division of the epigram into a "set-up" and a "conclusion" continues in a very real sense to dominate discussion of Martial's literary technique.[12] In various critiques of Lessing's methodology, amongst which a classic paper by Mario Citroni stands out,[13] possibly the most telling charge is that Lessing's insistence on a bipartite structure seriously underplays the unity of Martial's epigrams,[14] that is to say, the dynamic movement which enlivens and sustains them. Apart from the fact that many of the non-scoptic epigrams refuse such neat compartmentalisation into two segments, even the satiric epigrams, the particular focus of Lessing's attention, are often informed by an overarching unity which operates in tandem with bipartition into *Erwartung* and *Aufschluss* and so militates against rigid or watertight separation of the two constituent segments. In a helpful contribution to the discussion, Nigel Kay isolated a number of closural devices (e.g. change of subject from third to first person, direct address, questions, comments by the author) which both signal the beginning of the second, concluding part of the epigram, and in some cases effect a smooth transition from the first to the second section.[15] In particular, Kay pointed to the use of verbal repetition as a means of effecting a unity of structure,[16] for instance in 1.77, 1.79 and 3.26. Likewise Sul-

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[12] See e.g. Kay 1985, 7–9; Laurens 1989, 290–3; Sullivan 1991, 222–4; Swann 1994, 150–1; Holzberg 2002b, 87; L. and P. Watson 2003, 15–6; also Walter 1996, 282–4.

[13] Citroni 1969.

[14] It was pointed out by Professor Citroni in the discussion which followed the delivery of this paper (and subsequently remarked by Dr. T.V. Evans), that Lessing's bipartition is ultimately predicated on a belief in the unity of a Martialian epigram, in that the first part designedly feeds into the second. This is plainly correct. My point is however that Lessing's formalistic insistence on a bipartite structure, tied as it was to a historicising belief in two separate entities which purportedly gave rise to the literary epigram (*Erwartung* corresponding to a physical monument, *Aufschluss* to the inscription thereon: see paragraph 1 above) blinded him to the fact that in numerous cases his formulation simply did not work, there being many epigrams where the division between the two segments was blurred, elided or non-existent, as I attempt to demonstrate below.

[15] Kay 1985, 7–9.

[16] Kay 1985, 8. Cf. also Laurens 1989, 273–81.

livan commented that the *Aufschluss* may take the form of a summary, rather than a comment on the foregoing, in which case the two parts of the poem are not obviously differentiated:[17] one instance among many is 4.4, on Bassa's stink.

To these formal devices may be added other procedures which cannot be discussed in detail here: the ring composition which is a pronounced feature of Martial's style,[18] and self-evidently makes for structural unity; or the placing in the opening line or couplet of a word or phrase which emerges as anticipatory of the conclusion once the latter is reached; a case in point is 7.20, where the initial characterisation of the protagonist, Santra, as *miser*, "miserable", becomes retrospectively meaningful once he is unmasked, not as the greedy parasite that the body of the poem had suggested, but a starveling so poor that he keeps body and soul together by selling the food which he has stolen from the dinner table.[19] Another instance is 9.47:

> Democritos, Zenonas, inexplicitosque Platonas,
> quidquid et hirsutis squalet imaginibus
> …
> dic mihi, percidi, Pannyche, dogma quod est?
> (Mart. 9.47.1–2, 7)

> <You talk of> Democritus, Zeno and inexplicable Plato, and any original of an unkempt, hirsute bust … tell me, Pannychus, to be sodomised, what kind of dogma is that?

where mention of philosophical worthies in the first line (and *hirsutae imagines*, "hirsute busts", in the second) is a clear signpost to readers familiar with Martial that the poem will terminate in an attack on a hypocritical moralist whose debauched lifestyle belies his professions of uncompromising rectitude;[20] the more especially since line 1 makes prominent mention of Zeno, and it was the Stoics in particular who were the target of such accusations,[21] to the point that they were sneer-

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[17] Sullivan 1991, 224.

[18] Cf. 2.43, 3.95, 6.30, 6.42, 7.17, 7.26, 10.27, 10.37, 10.70; Laurens 1989, 333–5.

[19] Lessing 1771, 102 prefers to ignore the connexion.

[20] Citroni 1975 on 1.24 lists occurrences of the theme in Martial. For the tendency of such hypocritical personages to invoke instances of old-fashioned virtue (*hirsutae imagines*) as moral exemplars, cf. Mart. 1.24.3, 7.58.7–9, 9.27.6–8; Juv. 2.3. For such types in general, see Brecht 1930, 18–24.

[21] Cf. Sen. *Ep*. 123.15; Gerhard 1909, 144–7; Courtney 1980, introduction to Juv. 2.

ingly re-etymologised as Στύακες (στύω, "erect the penis").[22] As a final example of the phenomenon under consideration 10.65 deserves mention.

> Cum te municipem Corinthiorum
> iactes, Charmenion, negante nullo,
> cur frater tibi dicor, ex Hiberis
> et Celtis genitus Tagique ciuis?
> An uultu similes uidemur esse?
> Tu flexa nitidus coma uagaris,
> Hispanis ego contumax capillis;
> leuis dropace tu cotidiano,
> hirsutis ego cruribus genisque.
> Os blaesum tibi debilisque lingua est,
> nobis †filia† fortius loquetur:
> tam dispar aquilae columba non est
> nec dorcas rigido fugax leoni.
> Quare desine me uocare fratrem,
> ne te, Charmenion, uocem sororem.

(Mart. 10.65)

> Although you boast yourself a fellow townsman of the Corinthians, Charmenion, and no one denies it, why I am I called by you "brother", born as I am of Iberians and Celts, and a citizen of the Tagus? Is it that we look alike? You go about the city well-groomed, your hair waved; my hair is stubborn and Spanish. You are smooth with daily depilatory; my legs and cheeks are hirsute. Your mouth lisps and your articulation is feeble. My daughter [?] can speak more loudly to me. A dove is not so dissimilar to an eagle, or a timid gazelle to a pitiless lion. Therefore stop calling me "brother", Charmenion, in case I call you "sister".

Here the identification at the outset of Charmenion as a *municeps Corinthiorum* ("fellow townsman of the Corinthians") points via Corinth's reputation for debauchery[23] to the revelation, hinted at in 6–11 and revealed at the close, that Charmenion is an effeminate homosexual.[24]

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22 By Hermeias of Curion *ap.* Athen. 563d, in the reading of one manuscript tradition.

23 Salmon 1984, 398–400.

24 *Soror*, which is amatory parlance for the "girlfriend" of a male (Williams 1999, 223–4), is, in a trenchant recontextualisation and sexualisation of his sibling-metaphor, applied to the *uir mollis* Charmenion in retribution for his presumptuously calling Martial his *frater*, that is to say close friend, the word having an implication of shared tastes and proclivities (cf. Cic. *Ver.* 3.155)—something that Martial is at pains to deny.

In a specialised form of the technique under discussion, Martial bestows on his victim, at the commencement of an epigram, a name which suggests the shortcoming for which he or she is to be pilloried. Thus, for example, 9.59 builds up an elaborate picture of Mamurra, who consumes a whole day scrutinising in the manner of a connoisseur Rome's market in luxury goods, only to emerge at the close as too poor even to own his own slave. But if one considers the creative use which Martial makes of Catullan names—a largely unexplored topic[25]—and the fact that Catullus repeatedly mocks *his* Mamurra's poverty, styling him the *decoctor Formianus*, "bankrupt of Formiae",[26] then it is fair to ask if Martial's revelation of his protagonist's destitution really is entirely unprepared for.

The foregoing paragraphs have suggested, somewhat cursorily, a number of ways in which, *pace* Lessing, tonal and thematic bridges may be erected between *Erwartung* and *Aufschluss*. In what follows, I should like to examine two particular ways, largely ignored in the critical literature to date, in which Lessing's straightjacketing configuration of Martial's satiric epigrams into two largely impermeable parts appears distinctly unsatisfactory. In each instance a single poem will be examined in order to extrapolate from it a pattern of internal coherence which is replicated in other members of the corpus. The first category involves poems where the presence of a surprise element is telegraphed to the reader well in advance of the ending, thereby eliding the division between the two constituent parts. A case in point is 10.63.

Marmora parua quidem sed non cessura, uiator,
  Mausoli saxis pyramidumque legis.
Bis mea Romano spectata est uita Tarento
  et nihil extremos perdidit ante rogos:
quinque dedit pueros, totidem mihi Iuno puellas,
  cluserunt omnes lumina nostra manus.
Contigit et thalami mihi gloria rara fuitque
  una pudicitiae mentula nota meae.

(Mart. 10.63)

The marble which you are reading, traveller, is small, but will lose nothing in comparison with the stones of Mausolus or the pyramids. My

[25] Some discussion of this subject in L. Watson (forthcoming).
[26] Catul. 41.4, 43.5. Other mentions of Mamurra's poverty: Catul. 29.13–22, 57.3–5, 114–5.

> life was twice approved at Roman Tarentos [the Secular Games], and lost none of its repute down to the day of my cremation. Juno gave me five boys and as many girls: their hands all closed my eyes in death. Rare glory of marriage was my lot, and my chastity knew but one cock.

This self-epitaph pronounced by a *matrona*, "married woman", represents her as of such transcendent rectitude and such extraordinary felicity that it is difficult for the reader not to suspect that her hard-to-credit exemplarity is riding for a fall. This duly arrives in the shape of an eroticised recasting of the *uniuiratus* ("marriage to one husband") ideal,[27] *fuitque / una pudicitiae mentula nota meae*, "and my chastity knew but one cock", which shockingly places in the mouth of the *matrona* a primary obscenity[28] and insinuates an interest in sex which is at one with Martial's stratagem—seen particularly in the later books—of eroticising the *matrona*, that age-old symbol of desiccated asexuality. The final piece of bathos does not arrive entirely unannounced: the woman who catalogues her conjugal accomplishments in 10.63 is altogether too good to be true. While it is not in principle impossible that a *matrona* could have been chosen twice to participate in the Secular Games (3), these having being staged by Claudius in 47 and by Domitian in AD 88 rather than at the notional interval of 110 years, it nonetheless seems highly improbable: to be sure, the *matrona* meets the criteria for selection, chastity and fertility, but it is hard not to suppose that on the second occasion the choice would have fallen, pragmatically, on far younger embodiments of these wifely virtues. Horace's *Carmen Saeculare*, "Secular Hymn", certainly envisages participants of child-bearing age (13–24), and a sesterce commemorating Domitian's celebration of the Secular Games, which depicts the emperor leading a group of three matrons in prayer to Juno (cf. 5), likewise (in so far as this can be discerned) features young women.[29] Equally open to suspicion are lines 5–6. Cases of exceptional fertility are certainly known from Roman history. But the even division in the sex of the matron's offspring is statistically improbable, and the claim (6) that all her children outlived her, notwithstanding her death at an

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27 Naughtily picking up a hint from sepulchral epigram, where the idea of marriage to a single partner is occasionally expressed in sexual terms (e.g. *CIL* 3.3572 *matrona unicuba uniiuga*, 8.11294.6; *AP* 7.324). On *uniuiratus* as a marital ideal, cf. Lightman and Zeisel 1977; Treggiari 1991, 229–61, esp. 233–6.

28 Cf. Adams 1982, 9–12.

29 Cf. D'Ambra 1993, 41; Mattingly 1930, p. 393 no. 424, pl. 78.5.

advanced age, is even harder to swallow.[30] Agrippina the Elder was survived by only four of her nine children, while the emperor Constantine was the sole survivor of his mother Faustina's twelve children, well-known instances of a lamentable demographic at Rome of early death.[31]

My contention, then, is that the relentlessly self-aggrandising and hyperbolic tones adopted by the *matrona* in 1–6 alerts the reader in advance of the denouement that some drastic deflation lies in store,[32] even if one cannot divine what form that debunking will take. The sequence of grossly improbable hyperbole followed by deflation, known in modified form to Catullus (*c.* 11), is particularly well exemplified in Horace's 2nd *Epode*, from whom Martial might have taken it over.[33] In that poem the speaker proffers a vision of country life which is impossibly rosy, particularly given the expropriations and violence which were endemic on the land in the 40s and 30s BC: the *uita rustica*, it is asserted, is free from both cares and debts, *otium*, "ease", at a premium, the rural hearth a very locus of familial harmony, the glories of life on the farm instantiated in the figure of the traditional smallholder—in point of fact, an increasingly vanished or marginalised figure in the Italy of Horace's day. This piece of ahistorical and rhetoricising claptrap was meant to strike contemporary readers as counterintuitive hyperbole:[34] long before the final unmasking of the speaker as a disingenuous moneylender they must have been alert to the fact that something was seriously amiss with his rural rhapsodising. In short, the concluding revelation was by no means unprepared for, the element of surprise being keyed rather to disclosure of the particular shape which it would assume. Essentially the same technique, I would argue, is at play in Martial 10.63.

At the risk of labouring the point, let me clarify what I am saying here, and anticipate a possible objection. Obviously the reader of Martial is, by the time she arrives at Book 10, programmed to expect a

30 Cf. *AP* 7.224, a fictitious epitaph for Callicratia, who bore 29 children and died at the age of 105, outlived by all of them.

31 Cf. Parkin 1992, 94, 113–4.

32 Oddly, Lessing 1771, 98 recognised in a fourteen-line French poem the possibility that inflation of tone could prepare for a debunking conclusion, but failed to apply this insight to Latin epigram.

33 For imitation of *Epode* 2 elsewhere in Martial, cf. 1.49 with Howell 1980, *ad loc.*

34 Detailed discussion of the foregoing points in L. Watson 2003, 80–6.

surprise ending in many pieces. Obviously too hyperbole is a key weapon in Martial's stylistic armoury. But what we have in 10.63, as elsewhere in the corpus,[35] is something much more specific: a hyperbole so palpable that it announces the imminence of its own dissolution, and thus smoothes over the disjunction between *Erwartung* and conclusion postulated by Lessing.

Now to my second category of poem where Lessing's schema breaks down. In a seminal contribution dating to 1959, Karl Barwick,[36] while retaining Lessing's bipartite structure, refashioned his terminology: it is more productive, he argued, to speak of an "objective" and a "subjective" section of an epigram than a "set up" and a "conclusion".[37] But in this revised formulation the unity of Martialian epigram is again seriously understated. There are many satiric epigrams where a complex of factors, linguistic and literary, combine in the so-called "objective" part to adumbrate or make explicit[38] the speaker's hostile or critical stance towards the subject of his poem, and the broad thrust of his objections to the party in question, even if the exact rationale for the latter is not spelled out until the poem's conclusion. The tenor of Martial's remarks is, in other words, not objective, but subjective and insinuating. An instance occurs in 2.29.

Rufe, uides illum subsellia prima terentem,
   cuius et hinc lucet sardonychata manus
quaeque Tyron totiens epotauere lacernae
   et toga non tactas uincere iussa niues,
cuius olet toto pinguis coma Marcelliano
   et splendent uolso bracchia trita pilo,
non hesterna sedet lunata lingula planta,
   coccina non laesum pingit aluta pedem,
et numerosa linunt stellantem splenia frontem.
   Ignoras quid sit? Splenia tolle, leges.

(Mart. 2.29)

Rufus, do you see that man who wears out the front seats, the gleam of whose sardonyx-bedecked hand can be seen even from here, and his cloak that has so often drunk up <the purple of> Tyre, and his toga, bidden to outdo untrodden snows, whose hair, greasy with perfume, can be smelt all over Marcellus' theatre, and whose arms gleam smoothed

35 E.g. 4.66, 11.23, 5.37 with P. Watson 1992.
36 Barwick 1959.
37 Barwick 1959, 5.
38 E.g. 1.9, 1.11, 2.7, 3.26, 5.58, 6.22, 6.63, 7.13, 7.48, 7.65, 9.15, 9.27.

> and depilated, on whose crescent-decorated shoe sits a shoestrap not of yesterday, whose unchafed foot scarlet leather adorns, whose brow is plastered with many beauty patches, giving it a starry appearance. Don't you know what he is? Remove the patches, and you will read.

Martial begins by pointing out to the formal addressee, Rufus—and by implication, to the reader of the epigram—an obviously wealthy personage seated in the equestrian seats of the theatre. His splendid appearance is described in detail—his bejewelled hand, his expensive clothing, his perfume, his smooth shaved arms, his scarlet patrician shoes and finally, to crown everything, a number of beauty patches on his forehead. In the concluding line, a question directed to the addressee Rufus *ignoras quid sit*?, "don't you know what he is?", acts as a closural device[39] to introduce the witty "surprise" ending, *splenia tolle, leges*, "remove the patches, and you will read": in other words, the man is wearing patches to hide the scars he bears as a former slave who was punished for delinquency by having a tattoo inscribed upon his his brow.[40] These three short words both explain the situation behind the epigram and disclose the speaker's objection to the poem's unnamed subject, who is now shown to be a wealthy freedman who has the effrontery to occupy the equestrian seats, where he does not belong, and who attempts to conceal his true status by flaunting his wealth for all to see. The authorial comment is not, however, unanticipated. Throughout, the subject of the epigram is described in such as way as to suggest criticism. A hint is given in line 1 by the use of *terentem* (lit. "wearing down by repeated rubbing" i.e. "frequenting"), which suggests that the subject is an obtrusively omnipresent occupant of the front rows;[41] and the critical stance is made more explicit in the following lines. *Et hinc lucet* (his gleaming ring is visible even to those seated further back) suggests a stone of showy, inordinate size, while the use of the *-atus* suffix (*sardonychata manus*, "sardonyx-bedecked hand") is significant: such epithets are common in invective[42] and are frequently used by Martial to satirise pretentious or hypocritical persons whose outward appearance conceals their true

[39] Cf. Kay 1985, 8.

[40] Cf. Jones 1987, 139–40, 147–8.

[41] In Martial *tero* is used of the client's repeatedly frequenting the thresholds of the rich (10.10.2, 12.29.1; cf. 12.18.3); see also below on Horace *Epode* 4.14.

[42] Cf. Cic. *Red. Sen.* 13 *cur in lustris et helluationibus huius calamistrati saltatoris tam eximia uirtus tam diu cessauit?*; Sen. *Ep.* 62.3 *relictis conchyliatis cum illo seminudo loquor.*

character or position, e .g. 1.96.5–9 [*ille*] *baeticatus atque leucophaeatus / … galbinos habet mores*, "that man clothed in Baetic wool and clad in ash-coloured garments … has green (*scil.* effeminate) morals", 2.57 *passim*, 5.35.2 *coccinatus Euclides*, "scarlet-clad Euclides".[43] In the third line the description of a cloak of Tyrian purple is similarly loaded: *totiens*, "so often", is a sarcastically hyperbolic allusion to the process of double-dyeing,[44] while the verb *epoto* ("drink deeply") suggests luxury and excess. The description of the toga as *non tactas uincere iussa niues*, "bidden to outdo untrodden snows", points in the same direction, as does mention of its wearer's hair as *pinguis*, steeped in perfume which can be smelt all over the theatre. Not only was the excessive use of perfume associated with luxury,[45] but it also suggests the effeminate dandy, as does the reference to depilation of the arms[46] (the implied criticism being underlined by the amplitude of detail in *splendent*, "gleam", *trita*, "smoothed", and *uolso pilo*, "depilated"). In the final three lines of description, *non hesterna*, "not of yesterday", *non laesum*, "unchafed", and *stellantem*, "bespangled", all suggest a similarly biased and sneering portrayal.

In addition to the jaundiced presentation of the target, the effect of these lines on the reader is conditioned by her awareness of literary tradition. The unnamed individual is described in terms that mark him out as a stereotype: the wealthy and ostentatious parvenu, like Petronius' Trimalchio, Martial's Zoilus and Juvenal's Crispinus. Such personages exhibit a well defined typology which intersects in several details with the target of the present epigram: the wearing of showy rings[47] and luxury clothing, including expensive purple,[48] in addition to the snow-white toga, which serves to advertise citizen status,[49] the usurpation of status symbols to which their bearer is questionably enti-

[43] See also Adamik 1979, 72.

[44] Garments were double-dyed (*dibapha*) to produce the especially rich hue which was characteristic of Tyrian purple: cf. [Tib.] 4.2.15–6; Ov. *Fast.* 2.107; Stat. *Silv.* 3.2.139–40.

[45] Cf. Potter 1999, 175–8.

[46] For depilation as the mark of the *effeminatus*, cf. Williams 1999, 129–32 and n. 58 below.

[47] Rings: cf. Petr. 32.3 (Trimalchio); Mart. 11.37 (Zoilus); Juv. 1.26–9 (Crispinus).

[48] Cf. Trimalchio's *dispensator* (Petr. 30.11) and Crispinus (Juv. 1.27); Zoilus uses purple for his ostentatious couch coverings (Mart. 2.16.3, 3.82.7).

[49] Cf. Hor. *Epod.* 4.7–8.

tled (the patrician shoe, 7–8):[50] such arrivistes are likewise often portrayed as effeminate individuals, a detail going back to Anacreon's Artemon.[51] But not only is Martial's target configured as a member of a readily identifiable class.[52] One particular creation comes especially to mind: the freedman tribune of Horace *Epode* 4,[53] who, like the subject of our epigram (line 1), sits prominently and illegitimately in the front rows of the equestrian seats in the Theatre (15–6 *sedilibusque magnus in primis eques / … sedet*, "he sits, a mighty equestrian, on the front benches") and "wears out" (*terit*) the via Appia *en route* to his Campanian estate (line 14), much as his Martialian counterpart "wears out" the equestrian benches by comparable overuse. In sum, by tendentious colouring of language, by patterning his enemy on an easily recognisable stereotype and by judicious use of intertextuality, Martial makes palpable from the outset his animosity and the rationale for that dislike, so that the literal unmasking of the enemy as a one-time slave is not so much a surprise as the logical culmination of all that has gone before, and no more than the explicit legitimation of a prejudice that has already been overtly declared. And in this and similar cases, the division of an epigram into objective and subjective parts, I submit, simply does not work.

By way of a coda to the above and a conclusion to the paper, let me advance an heterodox reading of an epigram which, if correct, neatly illustrates the interpenetration of *Erwartung* and *Aufschluss* for which I have argued. My case, I hasten to add, does not depend on the validity of the proposed interpretation. The piece in question is 8.52.

Tonsorem puerum, sed arte talem
qualis nec Thalamus fuit Neronis,
Drusorum cui contigere barbae,
aequandas semel ad genas rogatus
Rufo, Caediciane, commodaui.
Dum iussus repetit pilos eosdem
censura speculi manum regente,

[50] Cf. Petr. 32.2–3 (Trimalchio has a *laticlauia … mappa* and a ring which apes the *anulus equestris*).
[51] Especially Zoilus (Mart. 2.42, 3.82.5 and 11, 6.91, 11.30, 11.85). Trimalchio uses the effeminate colours green (Petr. 27.2) and scarlet (28.4, 32.2). For Artemon cf. Anacr. fr. 388 Page, with Brown 1983.
[52] In general on the figure of the parvenu, see Meyer 1913.
[53] *Arat Falerni mille fundi iugera / et Appiam mannis terit / sedilibusque magnus in primis eques / Othone contempto sedet* (Hor. *Epod.* 4.13–6).

expingitque cutem facitque longam
detonsis epaphaeresin capillis,
barbatus mihi tonsor est reuersus.

(Mart. 8.52)

A boy barber, but of such exquisite art as was not even Nero's Thalamus, to whom it befel to tend the beards of the Drusi, was lent by me to Rufus at his request to smooth his cheeks once, Caedicianus. As the boy, so ordered, went over the same bristles again and again, as the mirror's appraisal guided his hand, and painted the skin and performed a lengthy second removal of the hair he had already cut, my barber came back to me with a beard.

The conventional reading of this epigram[54] takes it as a wry comment on the excessive length of the procedure: Bridge and Lake and Shackleton Bailey compare 7.83, "while barber Eutrapelus [lit. "Nimble"—evidently a name used κατ' ἀντίφρασιν][55] moved around Lupercus' face and painted his face, another beard came up". One might adduce in support of this view other poems where Martial satirises the incompetence of barbers (2.17, 11.84, inspired by an epigram of Loukillios) or various pieces in *Anthologia Palatina* 11 where different individuals are mocked for excessive slowness.[56] But the fatal difficulty with this line of approach is that the barber of the present epigram is no incompetent, but, like the boy barber Pantagathus of the epitaphic 6.52, possessed of consummate expertise. This suggests that the target of 8.52 is Rufus. Taking this as a starting point, and perhaps reading against the grain, a very different picture emerges. The smoothing of Rufus' cheeks, his hyper-fussy insistence on the eradication of every offending hair, the presence of the mirror (cf. *speculum, pathici gestamen Othonis*, "a mirror, the accoutrement of Otho the pathic", Juv. 2.99)[57] identify Rufus as an effeminate male, a class of individual endlessly satirised by Martial, of which the most visible external char-

[54] Bridge and Lake 1906–8; Merli 1996 in Scàndola, Citroni and Merli 1996; Shackleton Bailey 1993, *ad loc*. Similar: Paley and Stone 1881; Stephenson 1907, *ad loc*.

[55] Names employed κατ' ἀντίφρασιν ironically ascribe to their bearer a quality diametrically opposed to the characteristic which most distinguishes them, e.g. Petronius' resoundingly bad poetaster Eumolpus (lit. "he of sweet song") or a dwarf called Atlas (Juv. 8.32).

[56] *AP* 11.82–6, 11.243.

[57] For mirrors and effeminates, cf. Scipio Aemilianus fr. 17 Malcovati = Gel. 6.12.5; Courtney 1980 on Juv. 2.99.

acteristic was complete depilation of the body.[58] If we now factor in the name of Nero's barber, Thalamus ("Wedding Chamber"),[59] and the description of Martial's own Pantagathus as *domini cura … sui*, "beloved of his master", this might suggest that boy barbers could be the subject of sexual attentions by their masters or clients. And in that case the reason that the boy returns bearded to Martial after the loan to Rufus may be not only the latter's sexually-driven insistence on complete elimination of facial hair (perhaps a rather weak point), but in addition something much more damning: Rufus has exploited the prolonged loan to tamper genitally with the boy, a process which, Martial assures us in 11.22, expedites the onset of puberty and could thus account for the arrival of the barber's beard:[60] the tampering, one assumes, would be oral (or digital), as in the case of the effeminate Phoebus of 3.73, who "sleeps with well-endowed boys", in order to fellate them.

But whether one adopts the standard reading—that Rufus' requiring the boy to go repeatedly over his face consumes such an inordinate amount of time that the *puer* sprouts a beard in the interim—or whether one accepts the supplementary interpretation just proffered, it should be clear that there is such an amplitude of anticipatory detail in the body of the epigram that the final point is generously prepared for. It thus represents one more example of the unity which Lessing was loath to recognise in Martial's *Epigrams*; a unity which, this paper has argued, can be realised in a whole plethora of ways.

[58] Cf. Obermayer 1998, 235.

[59] For the *thalamus* with homoerotic connotations, as here, cf. Anacr. fr. 424 Page καὶ θάλαμος ἐν †ᾧ† κεῖνος οὐκ ἔγημεν ἀλλ' ἐγήματο.

[60] For the undesirability of this in the view of the paederastically inclined and the means employed to delay the development in boys of facial and pubic hair, cf. Durling 1986.

17. CONTEXTUALISING MARTIAL'S METRES

Patricia Watson

The basic facts about Martial's use of metre are well known. As was traditional in both Greek and Roman epigram, the elegiac couplet predominates,[1] but the poet also makes frequent use of the Phalaecian hendecasyllable[2] and the scazon or choliambic.[3] In twelve epigrams he experiments with other metres.[4]

While much has been written on the technical aspects of Martial's metrical usage,[5] less attention has been devoted to the factors determining the poet's choice of metre in any given poem,[6] and it is on this aspect which the following discussion will focus. Since the elegiac couplet, as the metre *par excellence* of the genre, is employed in epigrams covering the widest possible range of subject matter, style and tone, the most profitable line of enquiry will be to take this metre as the norm, and to explore in detail the poet's use of other metrical schemes.[7] When Martial intersperses poems in hendecasyllables and scazons among his elegiacs, is this merely for the sake of variety or as

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[1] It is the usual metre in Books 13 and 14 and the *De spectaculis*. On average, it is used in around 75% of the poems in Books 1–12, though the figure is lower for Book 12 (see next n.).

[2] It appears in 228 epigrams in Books 1–12 (just under 20%). There is considerable variation, ranging from approx. 10% in Books 3 and 9 to an exceptional 38 poems (39%) in 12. The average for Books 1–11 is 17.7%.

[3] Cf. below n. 12.

[4] Hexameters (1.53, 2.73, 6.64, 7.98); iambic trimeters (6.12, 11.77); iambic trimeter + dimeter, as in Hor. *Epod.* 1–10 (1.49, 3.14, 9.77, 11.59); choliambus + dimeter (1.61); sotadics (3.29). For Martial's metres, see further Birt in Friedländer 1886, I.26–50; Giarratano 1908; Marina Sáez 1998. I have not seen Luque Moreno 1987.

[5] See Sullivan 1991, 227–30; and (for elegiacs) Raven 1965, 108; (for hendecasyllables) Raven 1965, 139–40; Ferguson 1970, 175; Loomis 1972, 34–42; (for the scazon) Pelckmann 1908, 51–2, 59; Siedschlag 1977, 127–8; Sáez 1998, 254.

[6] Morgan 2000, 119–20 makes a start in this direction in his discussion of Mart. 11.5. On this question, the commentators have for the most part focused on the unusual metres (e.g. Citroni 1975, 177 on 1.53; Henriksén 1999, 99 on 9.77). Otherwise there have been only passing remarks e.g. Citroni 1975, 12 suggests that hendecasyllables were chosen for 1.1 so that Martial could use his cognomen, which would not fit into elegiacs; Kay 1985 on 11.61 and Grewing 1997 on 6.26 both mention the association of the scazon with invective.

[7] The discussion will be confined to Martial's two main alternative metres, the hendecasyllable and the scazon.

an act of homage to his epigrammatic predecessor Catullus,[8] or are these metres also associated by him with certain types of theme or tone, such as invective, wit or obscenity? Groups of epigrams on a similar theme but employing more than one metre are also of special interest: does a change from elegiac couplets to hendecasyllables, for instance, mark a change of mood?

1. *The choliambic metre*

Let us begin with the scazon, since the rationale for its use is in general clear-cut. The metre consists of an iambic trimeter in which the final short syllable is replaced with a long, effecting a "limping close that calls a sneering halt to the line" (Cunningham 1971, 12). It was associated particularly with the sixth-century poet Hipponax of Ephesos, to whose invective verse the metre was specially suited.[9] Later the scazon was employed by Greek and Latin poets for a wider variety of subject matter, though it retained its association with invective and satire.[10] Catullus, for instance, uses the metre eight times, mostly in contexts of invective, the notable exception being the Sirmio poem (31).[11] Like Catullus, Martial employs the scazon judiciously. It appears in only 74 epigrams in Books 1–12, i.e. just over 6% of the total.[12]

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[8] It is unclear whether Martial's use of metres is derived directly from Catullus or whether he is following a Latin epigrammatic tradition. (The meagre fragments of predecessors such as Marsus and Pedo are, however, all in elegiacs.) The *Priapea* use the hendecasyllable, the elegiac couplet and the scazon, in that order of frequency (cf. Parker 1988, 45–7), but whether they antedate Martial is uncertain (Parker 1988, 36–7). Metrical variety is a Roman phenomenon: the Hellenistic epigrams occasionally employ hendecasyllables and scazons, but the satiric epigrammatists Lucillius and Nicharchus confine themselves to the elegiac couplet, with the sole exception of Lucillius, *AP* 11.176, in iambic trimeters.

[9] Demetrius, *Eloc*. 301, cited by Morgan 2000, 101–2, says Hipponax made the metre lame and thus suitable for "harshness and abuse" (δεινότης καὶ λοιδορία). Cf. Knox 1922, xxviii: "it has a growling and grimacing effect, with an accompaniment of irony, well suited to sardonic humour"; West 1982, 41.

[10] Cf. Loomis 1972, 102–18; Kay 1985, 203.

[11] On Catullus' use of the scazon in 31, see Morgan 2000, esp. 100–7.

[12] This figure excludes the epigram in the preface to Book 1. For a list, see Raven 1965, 181, who erroneously includes the hendecasyllabic 3.35. The percentage of choliambic lines in the corpus is somewhat higher than 6%, since poems in the metre tend to be long: the 74 epigrams contain 778 lines, i.e. an average of more than ten lines each. (Similarly in the *Priapea* the eight poems in scazons have an average

The traditional association with invective is maintained by Martial in the majority of his choliambic epigrams. This characteristic tone is most vividly displayed in a number of lengthy epigrams[13] which contain many of Martial's most prolonged and vitriolic attacks on (fictitious) individuals: the longest of the series on the abominable Zoilus (3.82), which describes in detail the execrable behaviour of this parvenu when hosting a dinner party, a likewise full and colourful account of the behaviour of another sort of dinner attendee, the parasitic food-thief Santra, whose apparently ravenous purloining of comestibles turns out to be motivated by a desire for cash rather than by gluttony (7.20), and the hapless Vacerra, a Celtic immigrant to the city whose pathetic departure from his accommodation after being evicted for failure to pay the rent is subjected to relentless ridicule (12.32). Most virulent of all is the attack on the sexually active older woman appropriately named Vetustilla (3.93), whose loathsome physical appearance is described in a manner particularly reminiscent of Horace's 8th *Epode*.[14] Likewise in scazons is the attack on Cinna (6.39), whose wife Marulla has produced a series of children all bearing a revealing resemblance to various slave members of the *familia*. Although the primary focus of this epigram is on ridiculing both Cinna for rearing offspring which are obviously not his own and his wife for her adulterous behaviour with lovers of servile status, the attack is driven home by a vivid description of the various children, all of whom exhibit some physical abnormality which marks them as the offspring of slaves. If, as has been suggested, the scazon is suited to abuse because its aberrant metrical form finds a parallel in the perversion of its subjects,[15] then the use of the metre is especially appropriate in this epi-

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length of ten lines and include the second longest poem in the collection (no. 51, 28 lines).)

[13] In addition to the examples to be discussed, there are numerous shorter invective epigrams in scazons.

[14] Which in turn owes something to Hipponax the inventor of the scazon, though *uetula*-Skoptik is common in a number of genres as well as epigram. See L. Watson 2003, 287–93; Merli 1993, 109–25.

[15] See Quinn 1970, xxxiii: "[the choliambic] regarded by the Greeks as a deformed or mutilated version of the ordinary iambic line … seems to have been devised by Hipponax to suggest by his halting lines the distorted subjects with which they dealt—the vices and perversions of humanity". Cf. Cunningham 1971, 12.

gram, with its emphasis on physical distortion as an outward manifestation of moral and social deviation.[16]

The other main use to which the choliambic metre is put is to express a complaint, for instance against the burdensome and financially unrewarding demands of the patronage system in Rome (10.74). Here, the poet gives voice to his weariness with the client's life, a theme which encloses the piece (cf. *iam parce lasso, Roma, gratulatori, / lasso clienti*, "spare at last, Rome, the weary congratulator, the weary client" (1), and the concluding *quid concupiscam quaeris ergo? dormire*, "do you ask, then, what I long for? Sleep"). If, as Morgan suggests, the "limping" scazon in Catullus' Sirmio poem (31) is meant to reflect metrically the exhaustion of the traveller returning home after a long journey, then possibly it has been used towards a similar effect in Martial 10.74.[17]

The choliambic poems of Martial are, then, for the most part, concerned with abuse or bitter complaint. But there are exceptions to this pattern, and on occasion the metre is employed in unexpected places.

Several poems do not begin as invective, but end with a surprise turn in which an attack is made, and it is only in retrospect that the reason for the choice of metre becomes clear. A good example is the second of the Erotion poems, 5.37. Following on from the more straightforward epitaph of the dead slave child (5.34) in elegiac couplets, 5.37 is a more complex piece with a series of surprise turns.[18] One of these comes at 18, when a new character, Paetus, is suddenly introduced. Like Martial, he is also in mourning (*pectusque pulsans pariter et comam uellens*, "beating his breast and tearing his hair in equal measure", 19) and he criticises the poet for grieving excessively for a mere slave girl: he himself has just lost his wife. Martial now turns the tables on Paetus to attack him as a hypocrite: it is all too easy for him to counsel restraint when his wife has left him a fortune (23–

[16] Morgan 2000, 101–2, however, argues that the metre reflects not the perversion of the subjects but the *persona* of the invective poet.

[17] Note the ending *dormire* in the "limping" position in the line: cf. also n. 21 below.

[18] It begins with a lengthy laudation of the virtues of a *puella* in the form of a series of comparisons which recall erotic addresses to *amicae* (e.g. Verg. *Ecl.* 7.37–8; Ov. *Met.* 13.789–97). That *puella* (1) is nominative rather than vocative is not revealed until line 7 (*quae ... uicit*), where the perfect tense also prepares for the surprise revelation, at 14, that the girl is the lately-buried *delicium* Erotion. On the epigram, see further P. Watson 1992.

4).[19] The primary rationale for the use of the choliambic metre in this epigram does not become apparent until the invective climax, but the use of the metre in a poem which begins as a eulogy of a girl might offer to the sensitive reader an advance clue that all is not as it seems.[20]

Another epigram where invective is reserved to the end is the long poem on the Baian villa of Faustinus (3.58). Although most of the piece is taken up with a description of the property and its prosperity, the point of the poem is to attack Bassus by comparing his unproductive estate. Bassus had already been the subject of invective, also in scazons, in 3.47, where he is depicted transporting a variety of farm produce: not, as one might expect, from his suburban property to his residence in Rome, but rather from suppliers in Rome to his unproductive country estate. In 3.58, Bassus is the addressee, and the description of Faustinus' villa starts off (2–4) in terms redolent of a diatribe against what the villa is not: that is, an ornamental rather than a true working farm. This, along with the choliambic metre, prepares the way for the closing invective in which Bassus' farm is contrasted negatively with that of Faustinus, making it clear that the polemical lines 2–4 were in fact aimed at the former.

In a small number of choliambic poems the element of invective seems to be absent altogether, and these are of special interest in determining whether Martial's choice of the metre is invariably significant, or whether it may be used on occasion simply for variety. 11.80, addressed to Flaccus, combines fulsome praise of Baiae with a declaration of the poet's affection for Martialis: though he prefers his friend, his ideal would be to have both. The eulogy of a beloved place might recall Catullus' choliambic Sirmio poem, but there is no suggestion in Martial's epigram of the weary traveller returning home, which if Morgan (2000, 103) is right is the reason for Catullus' use of the limping metre. Nor is the epigram pure eulogy: Flaccus has invited Martial to his home at Baiae, and Martial hints to him that he would like him to invite his dear friend Julius Martialis as well.[21]

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[19] *Quid esse nostro fortius potest Paeto? / Ducentiens accepit et tamen uiuit.*

[20] A metrical example of the phenomenon, discussed in detail by L. Watson in this volume, 276–9, whereby the surprise ending is foreshadowed earlier in the poem.

[21] For the interpretation of the poem, see Kay 1985, 236–8. Another factor might be at work: five out of eight lines end emphatically in the name Baiae. Since the final spondee is the characteristic feature of the choliambic verse, the effect of the anaphora

Two choliambic epigrams in the third book concern the same subject, Martial's close friend, compatriot and fellow-poet Canius Rufus.[22] The first piece (3.20) makes fun of Canius' notorious propensity to laugh (cf. 1.69); in terms of length, metre and subject matter, it recalls Catullus 39, on the Spaniard Egnatius, who constantly smiles to show his white teeth. In the Catullan poem the choliambic metre is put to its normal use of harsh invective and ridicule, Egnatius' inane grin branding him as lacking *elegantia* and *urbanitas*, and the attack culminating in the deflating suggestion that, since his fellow countrymen, the Celtiberians, are accustomed to clean their teeth with urine, the whiteness of his smile, of which he is so proud, merely signifies how much piss he has imbibed.[23] The tone of the Canius epigram is, by contrast, entirely different: not only is there none of Catullus' harsh invective, but unlike Egnatius,[24] Rufus is a friend whose poetic inventiveness is praised in the course of the poem. Clearly the scazon was chosen by Martial for this epigram as a literary joke designed to appeal to his sophisticated poet-friend. The subject matter of the poem recalls Catullus 39 and this intertextuality is underscored by the use of the same metre.[25] In the second, laudatory,[26] epigram on Canius (3.64), the use of choliambics is harder to explain: presumably the metre was chosen to match its companion piece 3.20.

Finally, there are three epigrams addressed to Domitian in choliambics (7.7, 9.1 and 9.5). The choice of metre in the first and third of these is reasonably clear. 7.7 is one of several poems in Book 7[27] where the poet expresses his longing for the return of the emperor to Rome. In contrast to the other poems on the topic, all in the elegiac metre, the choliambic epigram displays a tone of mild reproach that Domitian does not return, as well as a hint of mockery: so obsessed

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is reinforced by the metre. Similarly in 1.77 every line ends with *pallet*. Martial often exploits the spondaic ending in the last line of a choliambic epigram: in 22 cases the final word is a dissyllable which either constitutes in itself the surprise ending or is vital to the poem's climax.

22 On these poems cf. also Lorenz in this volume, 321–5.

23 20–1 *ut, quo iste uester expolitior dens est, / hoc te amplius bibisse praedicet loti.*

24 Cf. 37.17–20, where Egnatius is singled out for special mention among the lovers of Lesbia attacked by the poet.

25 As in 3.12, discussed below.

26 Canius' skill as a raconteur is said to be such that even Ulysses, who could tear himself away from the beguiling Sirens, would never leave while he was speaking.

27 The others are 2, 5, 6 and 8.

are the people with thoughts of their master that their attention is even diverted from the horse races:

> adeoque mentes omnium tenes unus
> ut ipsa magni turba nesciat Circi
> utrumne currat Passerinus an Tigris.
>
> (Mart. 7.7.8–10)

> and to such an extent do you alone occupy the minds of all / that the very crowd in the great Circus / doesn't know whether Passerinus or Tigris is running.

In 9.5, where Martial praises two of Domitian's pieces of legislation directed against castration and child prostitution, there is a note of invective directed at those who have profited from these practices: the *auarus mango*, "greedy slave-dealer" (4), through whom a boy *uirilitatis damna maeret ereptae*, "laments the loss of his manhood which has been snatched away"(5), and the *superbus leno*, "haughty pimp" (6), who takes away a "prostituted infant" from its wretched mother (7).[28]

Presenting greater difficulty is the use of the choliambic metre in 9.1. The poem eulogizes Domitian's temple to the Gens Flavia, which will endure, along with the sun and stars and the Roman Empire, as long as the names of various months in the calendar (including the two renamed by Domitian in his honour) and the temples of Jupiter and the deified Julia, for *inuicta quidquid condidit manus, caeli est*, "whatever an unconquered hand has founded belongs to Heaven". Unless one takes the line that Martial is secretly subversive,[29] there seems no obvious reason why this epigram should be in scazons.[30]

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[28] For the text and meaning of lines 6–7, see Shackleton Bailey 1978, 284.

[29] See Garthwaite 1993; Boyle 1995, 97; Fearnley 2003, 620–1. Garthwaite and Fearnley both read Martial's text in the light of contemporary fears that Domitian's building programme was draining the treasury, and see Martial as hinting that the emperor is guilty of excess. Fearnley 626 also suggests that the use in 10.72 of hendecasyllables, associated with the "politically irreverent Catullus", might imply dissatisfaction with Trajan.

[30] Ruurd Nauta pointed out in discussion that the name *Domitianus* (which in the context cannot be replaced by *Caesar*, *Germanicus* or the like, and occurs only here in Martial's verse) will not fit in any meter but the choliambic, and Stephen Hinds suggested that this metrical 'fitting' may be hinted at by *Domitianus … commodabit* (1–2). Two other choliambic poems for which no ready explanation offers itself (apart from a sombreness of tone) are 10.92, where Martial hands over to Marrius his Nomentan farm before departing for Spain, and 3.40 (see below n. 55).

One final point is worth mentioning before leaving the choliambic metre. Given that Hipponax, with whom the metre was especially associated, was particularly noted for his gross obscenity, one might have expected to find that Martial's scazons make a feature of obscene language, but this is in general[31] far from the case, and in this he follows Catullus.[32] Only 17% of Martial's choliambic epigrams contain obscenity; moreover, scazons occur most often in Book 5, from which such language is banished, while they are least common in the consciously sexual 11th book.[33]

2. *The Phalaecian hendecasyllable*

Hendecasyllables, which are common in the lighter genres of Greek and Latin poetry,[34] are employed by Martial with unusual frequency,[35] though they are very rare in Greek epigram.[36] In keeping with the metre's conventional association with informality,[37] its use is determined not so much by subject matter as by tone. Martial's hendecasyllabic pieces, like those of Catullus,[38] cover a wide variety of topics, from satire and jokes to quasi-philosophical contemplation (e.g. 10.47, on the happy life), to eulogy of a patron's baths (6.42, discussed below) to poems concerning the emperor (e.g. 4.30). The common element in most of these epigrams is a light-hearted, witty or intimate mood.

Martial's predilection for the metre was no doubt inspired by Catullus, two thirds of whose "polymetrics" are in hendecasyllables.[39] That

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[31] Exceptions are the attacks on Zoilus (3.82) and Vetustilla (3.93).

[32] Of Catullus' eight choliambic poems, only two (37 and 39) contain obscene language.

[33] Of the 154 epigrams in which Martial uses basic obscenities, 8.5% are in scazons, a percentage only marginally higher than the figure for the metre in the corpus as a whole (i.e. 6%).

[34] Cf. esp. Loomis 1972.

[35] For figures see n. 2 above.

[36] Seven Hellenistic epigrams contain some hendecasyllabic lines; the only poem entirely in hendecasyllables is *AP* 13.6, by Phalaecus.

[37] Cf. Coleman 1988, 220–1; Morgan 2000, 115.

[38] Catullus uses it for invective (e.g. 16), a dedicatory poem (1), erotic poems (2, 3, 5, 7) and an invitation to dinner (13).

[39] In regarding Catullus as his epigrammatic predecessor, Martial made no distinction between the "polymetrics" and the elegiacs (69–116); indeed, very few of the Catullan poems adapted most extensively by Martial are from the latter group. On Martial and Catullus, see L. Watson 2004.

Martial regarded the metre as quintessentially Catullan is shown by the large number of epigrams in which the hendecasyllabic metre is combined with Catullan themes and language. A good example is 3.12, based on Catul. 13 *cenabis bene, mi Fabulle*, "you will dine well, my dear Fabullus", where the adaptation of Catullan subject matter is reinforced by Catullan language.[40] In the third line, *res salsa est bene olere et esurire*, "it's a witty thing to smell nice and go hungry", a metrical peculiarity—the triple elision—adds to this effect: Martial elsewhere avoids elision in his hendecasyllables, whereas Catullus uses it frequently, especially in the 13th poem, which contains no fewer twelve elisions in its fourteen verses.[41]

Interestingly, although the metre was associated with risqué subject matter (Quint. *Inst*. 1.8.6; Plin. *Ep*. 4.14), Martial's hendecasyllabic epigrams do not display a striking amount of obscene language. Only 40 out of 228 contain obscenity, in striking contrast to Catullus, who uses it in 15 of his 38 hendecasyllabic pieces. Moreover, in Books 3 and 11—the two most obscene books—there are relatively few Phalaecian epigrams.[42]

The metre is frequently found in contexts of invective, ridicule or complaint, but in contrast to the choliambic epigrams, these poems tend to be witty and/or comparatively light-hearted. For example, 5.49, one of several attacks on baldness, is cast as an absurd description of one Labienus, whose bald crown surrounded by a goodly crop of hair on each side gives the impression that he has three heads like Geryon, the result being that he received three food baskets at Domitian's public feast. The epigram ends with the amusing suggestion that he should avoid the portico of Philippus (adjoining Hercules' temple) lest he be spied by Hercules and suffer the same fate as his mythical prototype. At 11.40, a sexual "deviant" is ridiculed by means of a funny story: when he complained to a friend that he hadn't fucked his girlfriend for a month and the friend asked the reason, he reported her excuse as being that "she had a toothache", thus accidentally letting slip that he was not after all a *fututor*, "fucker", as he claimed to be,

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[40] *Vngentum*, *bonum*, *salsa*, *esurire*.

[41] Other hendecasyllabic epigrams which recall Catullus include 1.7, 1.35, 1.41, 1.52, 1.64, 2.4, 2.23, 4.14, 5.6, 5.78, 7.34, 7.70, 8.54, 9.11, 11.6, 11.13, 11.15.

[42] Admittedly, these poems contain a fair proportion of obscenity. Of the ten hendecasyllabic epigrams in Book 3, four are obscene, and seven of the sixteen in Book 11.

but that his girlfriend performed *fellatio* on him because he was impotent. Kay (1985, 157) comments that the pastoral setting suggested by a possible Virgilian reminiscence in the first line[43] is soon undermined by the crude subject matter: I would add that the use of the hendecasyllabic metre alerts the reader from the outset that a surprise is in store.[44]

Hendecasyllables often appear in the intimate or familiar setting of addresses to close *amici* (e.g. 5.78, an invitation, with much Catullan terminology, to a modest dinner party for a group of friends) or to the personified *libellus* (e.g. 3.2, 4.89).[45] In poems for patrons, a comparatively serious category, hendecasyllables are employed in cases where the material is subjected to a witty treatment, such as 6.42, on the Baths of Etruscus. Here, the bath encomium is cast in the form of an address to a friend Oppianus, who, unless he tries these baths, will never experience a real bath (*Etrusci nisi thermulis lauaris, / illotus morieris, Oppiane*, "if you don't bathe in the baths of Etruscus, you will die unbathed, Oppianus": 1–2). The witticism of line 2 is repeated, in a neat ring composition, as the last line of the poem, where Oppianus is depicted as ignoring the poet's advice, and so will indeed die unbathed.

Finally, as Morgan (2000, 114–20) illustrates, the hendecasyllable is a fast metre, in contrast to the "limping" scazon. And there are, in fact, several cases where the theme of speed is harnessed to metre. 3.44, for instance, concerns an inveterate reciter, Ligurinus, at whose approach everyone scatters. In general, the epigram conjures up a picture of Ligurinus pursuing the poet around the city, reciting at him wherever he goes, even in the public latrine. Lines 12–5 in particular show how metre and subject matter can operate in conjunction:

In thermas fugio: sonas ad aurem.
Piscinam peto: non licet natare.
Ad cenam propero: tenes euntem.
Ad lectum uenio: fugas edentem.[46]

(Mart. 3.44.12–5)

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[43] *Formosam Glyceran amat Lupercus*, "Lupercus loves fair Glycera": cf. Verg. *Ecl.* 2.1 *Formosum pastor Corydon ardebat Alexin*, "the shepherd Corydon burned for fair Alexis".

[44] Cf. the effect of the scazons in 5.37, discussed above.

[45] Cf. also 2.6, 7.97, 8.72, 10.20, 11.1.

[46] For the text of this line, see L. and P. Watson 2003, 309–10.

> I flee into the baths: you boom in my ear. / I make for the swimming pool: I'm not allowed to swim. / I hurry to dinner: you stop me on my way. / I come to the dining couch: you put me to flight as I'm eating.

Notice how the caesura after the 5th or 6th syllable of each verse is twinned with a sharp break to divide the lines into two balanced halves, giving the impression of short scenes breathlessly crowding in on each other.[47]

Another epigram where the factor of speed may be operative is the prolonged attack on the tribad Philaenis (7.67). Given the viciousness of the invective, one might wonder why the poet did not cast the poem in scazons, as he did with the pieces on Vetustilla (3.93) and Zoilus (3.82), discussed earlier. The concluding witticism:

> Di mentem tibi dent tuam, Philaeni,
> cunnum lingere quae putas uirile
>
> (Mart. 7.67.16–7)

> may the gods give you your present mind, Philaenis, / seeing that you think it's manly to lick a cunt

is not sufficient to explain the choice of metre. Both the Vetustilla and Zoilus epigrams also end in witty *sententiae*[48] and in all three cases the humour is not of the light-hearted kind associated with the hendecasyllable, but is harsh and invective in tone. On the other hand, Philaenis is portrayed as unnaturally athletic and masculine: an image is conjured up of a relentless and energetic pursuit of various male activities, and for this the swift-moving hendecasyllables are far more appropriate than slow, "limping" choliambics.[49]

The majority of Martial's hendecasyllabic epigrams display one or more of the characteristics associated with the metre, namely wit, informality, and speed. There are, however, a few cases where the reason for Martial's use of the hendecasyllable is less clear. For example 4.64, a well-known epigram, is a lengthy description of Julius Martialis' *pauca iugera*, "few acres", on the Janiculum, where one might

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[47] Cf. Catul. 8.16–8.

[48] Cf. 3.82.32–3 *hos malchionis patimur improbi fastus, / nec uindicari, Rufe, possumus: fellat*, and 3.93.27 *intrare in istum sola fax potest cunnum.*

[49] Contrast Vetustilla, who is represented as close to death, and the fat and lazy Zoilus in 3.82, who eventually falls asleep in a drunken stupor. Cf. also 2.37 and 7.20, both attacks on food stealers. The first, in hendecasyllables, passes swiftly through a list of food items stolen and ends with a witty personal address to Caecilianus, whereas the second, in scazons, is a more leisurely paced and vitriolic attack.

expect warm hospitality and from where one can look down in peace on the comings and goings of Roman life. Like the poem on Etruscus' baths, the piece begins and ends with the same line (*Iuli iugera pauca Martialis*, "the few acres of Martialis"), but the element of wit which we noted in 6.42 is absent here. Various subtle reasons for the use of the hendecasyllable might be posited: the element of speed is to the fore in lines 18–24 where various images pass swiftly but silently before the eyes of the inhabitant of the estate; the idea is implicit that in Martialis' abode his friends can enjoy the informality that is denied to them in Rome. Or the choice of metre might have simply been dictated by the poet's desire to include his friend's name, Martialis, which could not be accommodated in elegiac couplets.[50]

3. *Metrical variety in similar contexts*

To compare epigrams on similar themes but in different metres is often a productive means of demonstrating an association between metre and tone. Take, for instance, the series of seventeen epigrams on the parvenu Zoilus. Apart from one poem (3.29) in the rare Sotadic metre,[51] there are only two which are not in elegiacs, and here the choice of metre is clearly related to the manner of treatment. In 3.82, choliambics are appropriate for the lengthy invective, as well as suiting the ponderous, lazy character of the subject (cf n. 48 above); the hendecasyllabic piece (4.77), on the other hand, is more frivolous, with Zoilus attacked obliquely by way of a joke.[52]

Epideictic epigrams on works of art are mostly in elegiacs and on the whole fairly serious, with the occasional mild witticism.[53] Where the theme is treated in hendecasyllabics, by contrast, there is invariably an element of humour, e.g. in 1.102, where a painting of Venus is

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[50] Cf. Citroni 1975, 12 on 1.1, cited n. 6 above.

[51] Cf. Sullivan 1991, 229–30, who comments that the choice of metre is dictated by the subject, Zoilus.

[52] Martial says he had never wished for wealth but has changed his mind. He continues: *paupertas, ueniam dabis, recede. / Causa est quae subiti nouique uoti? / Pendentem uolo Zoilum uidere* (i.e. he'd like Zoilus to hang himself out of envy). Cf. the three epigrams on Selius: whereas 2.14 and 2.27 are in elegiacs, in 2.11 the "limping" metre is appropriately used in a description of the subject's lugubrious demeanour, brought on by his failure to obtain a dinner invitation.

[53] E.g. 4.59, on a snake in amber, concludes with *ne tibi regali placeas, Cleopatra, sepulchro, / uipera si tumulo nobiliore iacet* (5–6).

the pretext for a witty attack on the owner of the painting, Lycoris,[54] or 3.35 which jokes about the life-like appearance of the fish in a famous work of Phidias, concluding: *adde aquam, natabunt*, "give them water, and they will swim".[55]

Finally, a brief look at three cases where metrical variety operates in pairs of closely related poems. In each instance, the first epigram offers a serious treatment of a theme in elegiac couplets, while the second is an amusing variant in hendecasyllables. The contrasts thus presented underscore the association of the hendecasyllabic metre with wit.

2.91 and 92 are on the subject of Martial's receipt from Domitian of the *ius trium liberorum*, "right of three children". The first epigram takes the form of a petition; in the second, where thanks is expressed for the fulfilment of the request, Martial seizes the opportunity for an irreverent and witty joke at the emperor's expense.[56] 5.11 and 12 are both on Stella's ring, but the second is more relaxed and humorous than its companion piece.[57] Two epigrams in the first book, 1.12 and 1.82, concern Regulus' narrow escape from a collapsing portico. The elegiac 1.12 is serious in tone with an accompanying elevation of linguistic and stylistic register.[58] Poem 1.82 is more intimate and informal, especially in the direct address to Regulus (9–11), while the image of the portico waiting for Regulus to pass under it before collapsing is perhaps meant to amuse.[59]

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[54] For an interpretation of the epigram, see L. and P. Watson 1996, 586–8.

[55] Cf. also 6.92 and 9.44. There is also one poem in choliambics (3.40) on a lizard inset into a bowl by the famous sculptor Mentor, which is so life-like as to inspire fear of the artefact: *Inserta phialae Mentoris manu ducta / lacerta uiuit et timetur argentum.* This certainly lacks the wit of 3.35, just discussed, but why it should be in scazons rather than elegiacs is unclear.

[56] See L. and P. Watson 2003, 105–8.

[57] Note also 5.48 and 49, which are linked by the theme of hair and the mention of a *puer* (Howell 1995, 133). The first, in elegiac couplets, is a serious poem addressed to a patron; the second, hendecasyllabic, epigram, is a satiric piece wittily ridiculing a physical defect.

[58] See the commentary of Citroni 1975 for details.

[59] *uicta est pondere cum suo repente, / et postquam domino nihil timebat, / securo ruit incruenta damno* (6–8).

Conclusion

Martial's epigrams in scazons and hendecasyllables generally display the characteristics associated with these metres (harsh invective/complaint in the case of the former, wit/ridicule/informality/speed in the case of the latter). As the predominant metre of epigram, the elegiac couplet is used in all types of context, which might include any of those associated with the other two metres, as well as more serious themes such as straightforward panegyric or description. On the other hand, where elegiac poems are paired with epigrams on the same topic in another metre, the elegiac tends to be used in the serious epigram, with hendecasyllables or scazons[60] for the variant.

There are comparatively few epigrams where the use of scazons or hendecasyllables does not conform to the pattern described above. Some of these can be explained satisfactorily; in a small number of cases no ready explanation leaps to the eye. Here, we must either resort to a more subtle explanation,[61] or else admit the possibility that occasionally Martial employs these metres merely for the sake of *uariatio*.[62]

[60] As in 5.37, discussed earlier.
[61] As for instance in 3.20 or 4.64 discussed above.
[62] Poems treated in this article where this might apply include 3.40, 9.1 and 10.92.

18. INVALUABLE COLLECTIONS: THE ILLUSION OF POETIC PRESENCE IN MARTIAL'S *XENIA* AND *APOPHORETA*

Sarah Culpepper Stroup

In what are likely his earliest Saturnalian publications, Martial presents in his *Xenia* (Book 13, published ca. AD 84) and *Apophoreta* (Book 14, ca. AD 85)[1] a pair of tempting poetic "Collections" unlike anything that had come before or, indeed, anything that would come for some time after. Each of these books consists of one to three introductory poems of four to twelve lines—let us call this the "label"—followed by a selection of carefully ordered distichs—let us call this part the "contents"—ranging from 127 poems (in the case of the *Xenia*) to 223 (in the case of the *Apophoreta*). Others have noted before me that the painstaking progression of the *Xenia* distichs—from somber incense (4) to Etruscan cheese (30) to a garrulous flamingo (71) to a chorus of prawns (83)—mimics the order of an exceptionally luxurious Saturnalian feast.[2] The collected distichs of the *Apophoreta*, by contrast, claim for themselves a vacillating, if occasionally opaque high-low economic order—"this is a gift of the rich man, this a gift of the poor"—the contents of which range from household brooms (82) to boy actors (214) to a parchment edition of Cicero (188), to a couple of very short mules (197).

Tempting collections indeed, and as such, the *Xenia* and the *Apophoreta* have been recognized in recent years as particularly fruitful for investigations into both the mechanics of Imperial textual materiality, and Martial's own remarkable skills in literary self-representation and mimetic display. And yet as much as these marginalized twins have begun to move into the spotlight, there remains work to be done on both the economic implications of these "object poems", and the

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[1] On dating issues, cf. Sullivan 1991, 12. Sullivan argues for a date of AD 85 and cites further Martin 1980; Pitcher 1985; and Citroni 1988, 11; see also Leary 1996, 9–13 (a somewhat extended discussion on the *Apophoreta*); and 2001, 12–13 (on the *Xenia*). Leary 1996 depends most heavily on Freidländer's 1886 chronology, which sets the dating at AD 84/85, and suggests that the books were first published in approximately the same form and numerical order they now possess.

[2] So Sullivan 1991, Leary 2001.

ways in which these collections create an illusory world of poetic presence in which the value of any individual object—and as we will see, what I mean by this is *any individual poem*—is located exclusively in its inclusion within the whole.

In this paper, I read the individual contents of these collections against the theme of "The Collection" as a whole, and suggest that the poetic substances claimed by these distichs—the food product as ephemeral as the holiday it celebrates (so 13.46, 47, 58), or the Praxitilean *Sauroctonos* in durable Corinthian bronze (14.172)—combine in their presentation two important functions. First, they serve as an indication of the distinct spheres of social exchange that the poet is engaging in critical commentary; second, they render impossible the very acts of time-specific circulation and distribution of which they profess to be a token. To be sure, the *Xenia* and *Apophoreta* each provide a careful poetic mimesis of the lotteries and parting-presents characteristic of Saturnalian gift-giving.[3] As such, they are rightly seen as "paired" Saturnalian collections, and they are indeed—and this is an important point—*more like each other than they are like anything else*. And yet, the distinctive nature of the contents of these Collections—the ephemeral as opposed to the durable; the *literal* object of economic consumption as opposed to the *figurative*—would ask that we take a closer look at these contents and their relation to the Collections in which they are housed. In the end, I suggest, these Collections are only as alike as they are different. For in this dual glimpse into Martial's inverted Saturnalian world—in what science fiction writers today might call his "parallel universe"—the lines between presence and absence, between identity and mimesis, are so effectively dissolved as to destroy all sense of temporal, spatial, and economic boundary.

And yet the technique of this dissolution is distinctly Collection-bound.[4] For as we shall see, both the *Xenia* and the *Apophoreta*, as the distinct literary products of the Flavian period, offer compatible commentaries on the ability of a carefully designed artifice to create, dissolve, or utterly remake economic and individual identity in a period

3 See for example Leary 2001, 6–8; Citroni 1989.

4 For an excellent discussion of these books in the context heirs to the Hellenistic "poetry book", and the interesting suggestion (contra my argument here) that both the *Xenia* and the *Apophoreta* might be viewed as the ultimate "anti-Collection", see Barchiesi 2004.

that is itself marked by a radical social, political, and architectural remaking of Rome. But they each do this in importantly different ways.

Before we get into the Collections themselves, however, let us start by asking "What is a Collection?" in the first place and, as importantly, why we will find it helpful to use the word "Collection"—rather than *liber* or *libellus* or even "poetry book"—to describe the peculiar form and function of these two works. In his work on both the ideological notion, and the practical process, of children's collecting in the early part of last century, Walter Durost has suggested that it is only if the predominant value of a given object within a grouping is a *representational*, and not an *intrinsic* one, that the grouping constitutes a Collection at all.[5] Durost's primary point, and what I see as a lynchpin in the concept of collecting as a whole, is that when an object is included in a "Collection" its primary value shifts *from* the ostensible use, purpose, or aesthetic properties of the object, *to* its precise relationship—an element in a series, a part of a whole—to other objects within that Collection. In a likewise early, if somewhat more theoretically refined, investigation into the ideological attributes of collecting, Walter Benjamin suggests similarly of the Collector and his obsession, "what is decisive in collecting is that the object is detached from all its original functions in order to enter into the closest conceivable relation to things of the same kind".[6] A Collection, then, and the given objects within that Collection, might be seen to *de facto* construct the diametric opposite of any form of utility, regardless of the ostensible or professed "utilities" of the objects themselves. Indeed, and especially in the case of the *Xenia* and the *Apophoreta*, once the Collection has been completed—and the estimation of completion or perfection will of course be the decision of the Collector—the Collection itself takes on the strange aura of "completeness", of a self-conscious impermeability and resistance to decay that definitively rejects any estimation of individual differentiation or utility.

In the context of social relations, then, the Collection—as opposed to, say, the "hoard", or "accumulation"—is most profitably understood as a grouping of objects that (i) bear a representative or sequen-

5 Durost 1932, 10 (cited also in Pearce 1995, 20).

6 Benjamin 1999, 204. On the collected object's forced divestment from its "practical" function, see also Baudrillard 1994, 7–8; on Benjamin's and Baudrillard's theories of collecting with especial attention paid to Benjamin's essay 'Unpacking my Library,' see Schor 1994, 252–8.

tial relationship to each other,[7] and that (ii) are perhaps discernable in their physical or economic details but are no longer valued primarily *for* these details. Susan Pearce, working on Collecting in the European tradition, has called this process "artifaction"; the transformation of the "rough stuff of the physical world" into the "aesthetically refined artifact" precisely through the highly cultured process that constitutes collecting: the search, the evaluation, the selection, the purchase, the arrangement, the presentation, and finally—the reflection.[8] I suggest, then, that if a Collection can be understood to be an intentional grouping of objects that are, by virtue of this grouping, *more like each other than they are like anything else*, we might in turn understand the process of collecting—of building, or creating, or in our case *writing* a collection—as a process of transforming "stuff" into "artifact" through, as it were, the direct application of culture.

Now, as Benjamin notes elsewhere—and as Martial would surely appreciate—"writers are really people who write books not because they are poor, but because they are dissatisfied with the books which they could buy but do not like".[9] Thus we have in these early—and to my mind, highly experimental—distichs of Martial an instance not of an impoverished Poet who cannot afford to participate in the "economic market" of real-time gift-exchange, but that of the discerning Collector who has coupled the equally obsessive and intentional processes of collecting[10] and writing poetry, and taken them to the next level. The result, perhaps not surprisingly, is a doubled one. First, we have in the author of the *Xenia* and the *Apophoreta* a Collector who,

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7 Pearce 1995, 20.

8 On the process of artifaction, see Pearce 1995, 14. Compare to this Italo Calvino's (1981, 5–6) marvelous description of a bookstore interior in which individual books have been transformed into a collected warehouse of literary incriminations, which begins, "Books You Haven't Read, Books You Needn't Read, Books Made For Purposes Other Than Reading, Books Read Even Before You Open Them Since They Belong to the Category of Books Read Before Being Written" and concludes with "Books You've Always Pretended To Have Read And Now It's Time To Sit Down And Really Read Them".

9 Benjamin 1968, 61

10 See especially Pearce 1995, 32 for a useful categorization of three major types of collections: souvenir, fetishistic, systematic, the first two of which are particularly useful for this discussion. In fetishistic collecting, the objects themselves are "in control" of the collection; the collector responds to the objects and his obsessive need by gathering as many items as possible. In systematic collecting, by contrast, the collector adduces an "ostensibly intellectual rationale" in order to collect complete sets or perfect groupings that demonstrate "understanding achieved".

precisely because he is a writer, has reconfigured himself the sole producer of every artifact in his written Collection. Second, we have a writer who, *precisely because he has entered the world of collecting*, has transformed the "rough stuff of the physical world" into one of the most aesthetically refined, but economically problematic, objects of early Imperial culture: the poem (and, by extension, the *poetry book*).

But what of this "rough stuff", anyway? For if Martial is transforming material culture (and material exchange) into textual culture (and textual exchange), if he is transforming "stuff" by means of "culture", then we need to start by taking a good look at what it is he transforming in the first place.

First, the *Xenia*. As has been noted by Sullivan and others,[11] the *Xenia* offer a meticulous ordering of courses and accompaniments that is meant to mimic, in both content and presentation, a luxurious upper-class dinner: the poetic repast begins with incense and grains, progresses through courses of hors d'oeuvres, fowl, fish, then on to game, and drawing to a close with a selection of local and imported wine.

The first two poems of Book 13 are often—though not exclusively—thought to be later imports.[12] The point is yet debatable, and one exterior to the focus of this study. I do not agree with Leary's suggestion that they have "nothing to do with the *Xenia*", for both of these poems take food as their topic, and both provide compelling lexical and stylistic parallels to the introductory poem of the next book.[13] But as 13.3 does indeed seem to provide the most formal introduction to the group, and as it certainly provides what I consider the "title page" to this Collection—as well as the lexical key to its literary contents—let us start there:

> Omnis in hoc gracili Xeniorum turba libello
>   constabit nummis quattuor empta tibi.
> Quattuor est nimium? Poterit constare duobus
>   et faciet lucrum bybliopola Tryphon.
> Haec licet hospitibus pro munere disticha mittas,

[11] Sullivan 1991, 12–3.
[12] So see Leary 2001, 37, who cites Ker 1950. Roman 2001 would seem to take these two poems as original, however, and there is much to commend this view.
[13] So cf. the reference to a *toga* (13.1.1) with that to the *synthesis* (14.1.1), the dedication to the Muses (13.1.2) with that to Saturn (14.1.9), and the shared references to winter, inebriation, gambling, *nuces*, the equation of dice with poetry, and the relative safety of gambling with poetry ("for nuts") over gambling with dice.

si tibi tam rarus quam mihi nummus erit.
Addita per titulos sua nomina rebus habebis:
praetereas, si quid non facit ad stomachum.

(Mart. 13.3)

A whole crowd of Xenia in this slim *libellus* / will set you back four sesterces. / Is four too dear? You can have 'em at two / and bookseller Tryphon will make a profit. / These two-liners you can send to guests / in place of a *munus*, if you're as hard up as I. / You'll find the names of the stuff given up top: / pass by whatever doesn't strike your fancy.

The strange suggestion at the beginning of the poem—that a *xeniorum turba*, a "whole crowd of *Xenia*" is contained in a single slim *libellus*—is worthy of note. The use of the term *xenia* to introduce a set of poems focused exclusively on foodstuffs is nothing short of shocking. Ker's translation of *xeniorum turba* as "collection of mottoes"[14] gets the gist of the clause, but is semantically unconvincing in both its elements and altogether begs the question of "what *are* these *xenia*, and how in the world do you get a crowd of them?" Leary clearly recognizes the problem with this term, and his discussion of *xenia* in the gift-exchange culture of the Greek tradition is helpful.[15] But as much as his suggestion that *xenia* may reasonably be applied to foodstuffs given in the context of *xenia* relationship, in none of our Greek sources do *xenia* come to be used exclusively or expectedly for the category of food-gifts.

The Latin use of *xenia* is of no greater help. It appears outside of Martial only four times in the classical authors and but once prior to the publication of Book 13: this time, a passage of Vitruvius in which the term is applied to pictorial representations of food, but not food as gift or item of exchange.[16] What, then, are we to make of Martial's

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14 Cf. Ker's 1920 Loeb translation.

15 Leary 2001, 1–3.

16 Cf. Pliny *Ep*. 5.13.8, 6.31.14 (published between 99 and 109); Vitruvius 6.74; and Apuleius *Met.* 2.11.3 (of food). *Ep* 5.13.8 applies the word to gifts and fees in return for advocacy (thus in the cycle of *amicitia* and patronage-type relations); *Ep.* 6.31.14 makes it clear that *xenia* are gifts given to guests. Vitruvius 6.7.4 notes that painters who painted images of the foodstuffs set before to guests called these paintings "*xenia*", but the term is used almost universally to indicate gifts exchanged at a point of departure. For *xeni(ola)* used explicitly of gift-food, cf. only the later Apuleius (*Met*. 2.11.3); but the use of the diminutive here likely signals a semantic shift in conceptual category to the distinctly "marked" and consumable gift-object.

unprecedented use of this highly fraught word in the first line of his introductory poem?

For this, I think, the following word is worth a look. Leary notes, again quite correctly, that the use of *turba* for inanimate objects is not without precedent in our Latin authors. But we will do well to recognize that the use of such *is* reasonably uncommon. A "crowd of evils" appears once in Cicero's *Tusculanae Disputationes* 5.9 and again in Ovid's *Tristia* 5.6.41, and the occasional "crowd of weapons" or "crowd of wounds" will rear its ugly head, but it is of interest to us that the inanimate object to which *turba* is applied most often is the spoken, and by extension the *written* word.[17] In Martial's use of *xenia*, we have a reference *not* to foodstuffs at all, but rather to the very *poems themselves*, the words of the author,[18] newly personified as a lively crowd of literary party guests each playing a careful role in a complex bit of Saturnalian dinner theatre.[19]

The suggestion in line 5 that these *distichs* might be given *pro munere*—in place of, or exchange for, a *munus*—both builds on the theme of the "literary *xenia*" and introduces that of the economic and existential sleight of hand in which Martial's Collection excels. By the middle of the second century BC, *munus* had come to describe, among other things, those specific gifts or actions that are performed in the context of reciprocal *amicitia* relationships.[20] As early as the late Republic, however, and indeed in a poem that professes to be inspired by the expected prestations of the Saturnalia, *munus* is applied for the

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17 Cf. Cicero *Brut.* 123, *praeclare, inquit Brutus, teneo qui istam turbam uoluminum effecerit.* The context is of course different, but the use of *turba* as a literary metaphor is nevertheless a compelling one. Alessandro Barchiesi has helpfully suggested to me that the phrase might also be read as "crowd of foreigners" (slaves?), which would play nicely off the exotic origins of many of the contents included in the *Xenia*.

18 Thus we are reminded of Catullus' avenging *hendecasyllabi* at *c*. 62, as well as the chorus of Ovid's churlish poetic "children" in *Tristia* (cf. Davisson 1984).

19 Interesting discussions of literary personification can be found in Paxson 1994, 8–34; on the personification of poems, texts, and literary concepts in Latin literature (though with greater focus on the development of this in the late Republican period), see Stroup 2003, 120–8.

20 For the common use of *munus* to indicate an amatory repayment, see Adams 1982, 164; Plautus most frequently uses *munus* to indicate an office or duty owed to or expected (in repayment) by someone with whom one shares a relationship of *amicitia* (cf. Pl. *Am.* 827; *Cas.* 949; *Trin.* 1; *Truc.* 354; to these examples compare Ter. *Ad.* 764 *munus administrasti tuom*). On the inherently reciprocal nature of the word, see Zagagi 1982, 281 and 1987, 129–32.

first time to a literary text that has become the object of just such an exchange:[21]

> Ni te plus oculis meis amarem,
> iucundissime Calue, munere isto
> odissem te odio Vatiniano …
>
> (Catul. 14.1–3)

> If I didn't love you more than my very eyes, / Calvus my darling, I'd hate you a Vatinian hatred / for that *munus* of yours.

Although Martial's ebullient appropriations of Catullan tonality have long been recognized,[22] the use of *munus* as a term indicative of literary reciprocity had come into wide (if generally poetic) circulation from the early Augustan period on. And indeed, it is precisely this use of *munus*—as an item of distinctly *literary* exchange—that our poet is intending: "let these distichs replace, serve as, *become munera*". To be sure, Martial's choice of *munus* to designate his own circulated poetry is not confined to this poem;[23] nor, indeed, is the concept that for a poet, self-made poetry is the most suitable Saturnalian gift of all.[24] But as much as Martials' equation of "Poetry = Gifts" is neither poetically novel nor confined to this book, his suggestion that poetry "about" a gift-object might provide a reasonable economic *substitute* for that gift-object itself—*disticha pro munere*—is. *Munus*, then, as a distinctly literary, and distinctly Roman, translation of *xenion* offers for Martial precisely the lexical token he needs for the transformation in which he is engaged.

We saw in poem 3.2 (cited in n. 23 above) the poetic caution that the gift book is to find a defender lest it end up a "container" for incense and pepper—which two items are, by the way, the subject matter for *Xenia* poems 4 and 5. The whole of Book 13, by contrast, cre-

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[21] I provide an extended discussion of the use of *munus* as a marker of exchanged literary products in a forthcoming monograph on Republican literary practice.

[22] Cf. e.g. Swann 1994 and 1998. Roman 2001 notes rightly that M. frequently adopts the "Catullan lexicon and ludic tonality".

[23] So cf. Martials' deeply Catullan incipit to epigram 3.2.1, *cuius uis fieri, libelle, munus? / festina tibi uindicem parare, / ne nigram cito raptus in culinam / cordylas madida tegas papyro / uel turis piperisue sis cucullus …* See also 4.10, 5.15, 7.17, 7.42.

[24] So cf. 5.18.1–5 *quod tibi Decembri mense quo uolant mappae / gracilesque ligulae cereique chartaeque / et acuta senibus testa cum Damascenis, / praeter libellos uernulae nihil misi / fortasse auarus uidear aut inhumanus …*

ates a Collection in which this poetic “containment”—perhaps *embodiment* is a better word—of the physical world is precisely the goal.

Generally speaking, this poetic embodiment takes three distinct forms. The first is what I am calling the didactic or gnomic, and entails very general descriptions of the poetic object, addressed to a loosely configured listener or, as it often seems, the reader herself. Thus, we see:

> Far
> Inbue plebeias Clusinis pultibus ollas,
> ut satur in uacuis dulcia musta bibas.
>
> (Mart. 13.8)
>
> Wheat // Flavor simple jars with pulse from Clusinum, that when you / are full, and they empty, you may drink sweet new wine.

> Colocasia
> Niliacum ridebis holus lanasque sequaces,
> inproba cum morsu fila manuque trahes.
>
> (Mart. 13.57)
>
> Nile Bean // You will laugh at this Nile vegetable and its clinging fibers / when with teeth and hands you extract its obstinate threads.

Ninety-one of the *Xenia*—about 70% of the collection—are of this type, and almost half of this number contain ethnic or geographic references.[25] These references not only to underline the distichs’ remarkable ability to contain the world within its two slim lines, but provide an intentional echo, I think, to the first line of the introductory poem that boasted a whole crowd of *Xenia* contained within a single slim *libellus*.

The second type of *Xenia*, accounting for approximately 15% of the collection, I identify as distinctly dedicatory or munificent. These distichs carry a strong tone of address from the author to a specific (but always unnamed) recipient, make the act of exchange explicit with words such as *damus* (“I give …”) or *accipe* (“here, take …”), and tend to emphasize the general act of giving rather than the provenience of the gift itself:

[25] Fully forty-two of these ninety-one *Xenia* contain geographic references, but it should be noted that the wine list at the end is responsible for almost 50% of these. On this list see further Leary 1999.

Rapa
Haec tibi brumali gaudentia frigore rapa
quae damus, in caelo Romulus esse solet.
(Mart. 13.16)

Turnips // These rapes *I give you*, rejoicing in the chill of winter, / Romulus is wont to eat in heaven.

Pulli Gallinacei
Si Libycae nobis uolucres et Phasides essent,
acciperes, at nunc accipe chortis aues.
(Mart. 13.45)

Farm Birds // Had I guinea-fowls and pheasants, that's what *you'd get:* / but now, *receive* farmyard birds.

The final category of *Xenia*, and to my mind the most interesting of the lot, are what I call the personified or illusory sort of distich, the gift that "speaks for itself" in the context of its own giving:

Vuae Duracinae
Non habilis cyathis et inutilis uua Lyaeo,
sed non potanti me tibi nectar ero
(Mart. 13.22)

Hard-skinned Grapes // I am a grape unsuited to wine-cup and useless to Lyaeus, / but if you don't drink me, I'll be nectar to you.

Phoenicopteri
Dat mihi pinna rubens nomen, sed lingua gulosis
nostra sapit. quid si garrula lingua foret?
(Mart. 13.71)

Flamingoes // I get my name from my ruby wing, but my tongue is / a delight to gourmands. What if my tongue should talk?

Rusticulae
Rustica sim an perdix quid refert, si sapor idem est?
Carior est perdix sic sapit illa magis.
(Mart. 13.76)

Woodcocks // What does it matter whether I am woodcock or partridge, if I taste just the same? / A partridge costs more—hence its better flavor.

In this last category, as we see, the poem presents itself in the voice not of the author but rather—and more remarkably—in the voice of the physical stuff it claims as its own. Thus a grape helpfully advises

that it is better for eating than for drinking, a group of flamingoes lament that it is their tongues the gourmands are after but threaten to speak nonetheless, and—in a clever summary of Martial's economic illusion and perhaps a look ahead to the economic doublespeak of the following book—a sullen woodcock muses that although he and the partridge have identical flavor, the partridge is a greater delicacy because of its greater price.

That the Collection is far from homogeneous in either its tone or its style is surely important to note. But I would suggest that the intentional heterogeneity of the distichs only underlines the overarching structure of the book, that of an ongoing feast in which the reader is imagined a guest invited to sit back and enjoy as the courses are announced—or rather, announce themselves—as ready to be served.[26] And in spite of the poet's coy suggestion that the headings alone will suffice for perusal, the very structure and skill with which this dinner is organized—with which this Collection is perfected—requires that the whole must be sampled in order for the whole to be enjoyed to its full.[27]

And what a meal it is. Indeed, I would suggest that the only thing that is missing from a dinner of this sort in the context of the early Empire would be the performance of poetry—which is, not coincidentally, precisely what our crowd of *Xenia* provides. In an excellent article on textual materiality in the *Epigrams*, Luke Roman has noted that "the most salient and pervasive fiction characterizing M[artial's] work [is that] epigram is an ephemeral form of literature embedded in specific, social contexts, and dedicated to immediate uses".[28] This is nowhere so true as it is in the *Xenia*. But even as the ephemerality, presence, and "utility" of the food-gifts described in the *Xenia* is part of the show, the poetic artification of these gifts argues for precisely the opposite interpretation.

First, whereas the foodstuffs described are *perishable*, the *Xenia* in which these foodstuffs have been contained represent the epitome of

[26] Here I cannot help but think of Douglas Adams' genetically engineered bovine, who in *The Restaurant at the End of the Universe* (1980) arrives tableside to sell himself to the dinner guests: "'May I urge you to consider my liver?' asked the animal, 'it must be very rich and tender by now, I've been force-feeding myself for months.'"

[27] See especially Leary 1998 on the careful ordering and organization of these books.

[28] Roman 2001, 113.

durability. For as much as this dinner exists only within the pages of the *libellus*, it can be savored again and again, with no diminution in its original satisfaction or, indeed, the banquet itself.[29] Second, whereas the foodstuffs of Martial's poetic *conuiuium* are themselves the substantial "stuff of the physical world", the slender distichs in which they are embodied are the most insubstantial, delicate thing of all—the closest thing to "pure artifact" that one might imagine. Finally, the whole of the *Xenia* Collection is predicated upon the fiction of a specific social *utility—disticha pro munere*—and indeed these distichs have been read traditionally as at least fictively suggesting that their value lies in their ability to be "broken up" and distributed as independent couplets. But just as a plate of—albeit garrulous—flamingo tongues does not a meal (much less a feast) make, these poetic tidbits locate their value not in their individuality, but rather in their contextualization: their carefully, and even *necessarily* ordered inclusion in the Collection as a whole. What we have in *haec disticha*, then, is not an easily deconstructed grab-bag aimed at broad distribution and social exchange, but rather a perfectly matched set the entire value of which depends upon both the overall collected completeness of this "poetic presences" and the novel suggestion that poetry (Martial's poetry, at any rate) can replace and even improve upon the stuff of the physical world. In his production of an enduring but insubstantial mimesis that is of greater social and exchange value than the perishable, if substantive, original, and in his suggestion that his own paper gifts are *the only ones worth receiving* (the only ones that can make this transformation successfully), Martial has written himself a trump card in the Saturnalian game of chance.

The theme of Saturnalian gambling brings us to Book 14, upon which somewhat briefer remarks may suffice. The *Apophoreta*, a book of "paired" poems of alternating high-low economic value, presents a poetic Collection altogether different from that of the prior book. First, it is worth noting that the introductory poem makes no claims of equitable replacement—"poems for a gift"—in its self-description.[30] In-

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[29] So Gold 2003, 604 notes "[g]uests can eat their way through an entire, sumptuous meal in Epigrams 13 without ever having recourse to the food itself".

[30] Helen Lovatt has suggested to me that *perdere nolo nuces* in the final line of the poem might be profitably read, "I don't want to spoil my trifles by making them too grand". Certainly the choice of *lude* here (*lude … nucibus*) points to a specifically poetic tonality ("fiddle with your doggerel"), but this reading requires also that we

deed, rather than offer itself as the durable cure for an ephemeral world, or the collected replication of a single and linearly progressive meal, the *Apophoreta* offers a "five and dime" approach to the jumbled—and predominantly *imperishable*[31]—stuff of an existence almost painfully informed by economic calculations. The economic juxtapositions of "rich" and "poor" gifts[32]—the very juxtapositions that provide the structure of the whole—invite the reader to become an exceedingly discerning consumer even as they render this consumerism all but meaningless. For just as all the "gifts", once they have been transformed into epigram, are rendered metrically equal so too are they remade as effectively interchangeable. As we learn from the second line of the second poem, all of these presents "equal two".[33]

> Quo uis cumque loco potes hunc finire libellum:
> uersibus explicitumst omne duobus opus.
> Lemmata si quaeris cur sint adscripta, docebo,
> ut, si malueris, lemmata sola legas.
>
> (Mart. 14.2)

> You can finish off this *libellus* wherever you wish: / The whole of each piece summed up in two lines. / If you wonder why headings are added, I'll tell you: / So that, if you prefer, you can read the headings alone.

Thus even as the economic value of Martial's poetic "stuff" is underlined in the title and format of this Collection, this underlining occurs only that the professed value might be simultaneously destroyed. But whereas the literary joke of the *Xenia* was that ephemeral poetry can not only replace but even subordinate a real-life banquet, that of the *Apophoreta* is that the two-line lemma, in its single-minded goal of reducing complete works of literature to the smallest imaginable poetic quantity, does not only homogenize but in fact utterly destroys the

take *nuces* = *nugae*, a possible but not compelling transfer of meaning. On the sexual double-entendre of *nuces*, see Salantrino 1988. Finally, whereas the line *quos tibi pro caelo filius ipse dedit* (l. 10) must surely echo the *haec licet hospitibus pro munere disticha mittas* of 13.3.5, the sense is one of festal jocularity rather than true economic calculation.

31 There are three food items included in the *Apophoreta*: a tough Rhodian pastry (68), a tempting pastry Priapus (69), and a strangely recycled sausage (72).

32 Stephen Hinds has rightly noted this must be one sense of the incipit word, *synthesibus*; cf. S. Hinds, *Martial's Stuff: texts, art-objects, and post-Ovidian aesthetics in the Apophoreta.* Paper delivered at CAPN/CACW, Calgary, 3.22.03; received via private correspondence.

33 The second line of this poem must be an intentional echo of what I identify as the introductory poem of Book 13, *poterit constare duobus* (13.3.3).

inherent character—which is to say, the object-specific value—of all other literature. In the *Apophoreta*'s poetic remaking of everyday objects, the various exchange values of the "original" item are precisely *not* replicated, but are rather equalized (which is to say, effectively obliterated) by their transformation into quantitatively commensurate distichs. Thus the whole point of Martial's elaborate game is that although citrus-wood tablets (14.3) are more costly than the five-fold type (14.4) in the "original", the doubled-distich replicas of these objects are of necessity poetically commensurate and so—within the context of the Saturnalia, at least—almost perfectly interchangeable (as long as they remain collection-bound).

But the poetic mimesis of real value and identity entails for Martial not only the cynical destruction of that value and identity, but also the pointed re-creation of literary value as the province of the poet alone. The Escher-like world of the *Apophoreta* is one in which the reader is invited—even instructed—to consider the economic value of items that exist nowhere in the world save the poet's page.[34] And so as she is led to weigh ivory birdcage against ivory medicine chest (14.77, 78), an imported biscuit against a fortuitously numbered—and distinctly Petronian—pastry Priapus[35] (14.68 [?69/70], 69 [?70]),[36] and a pair of diminutive mules against a particularly talented lap-dog (14.197, 198), she is seduced to conclude that the exacting marketplace of *amicitia*-gifts is, at its roots, nothing save a wholly poetic artifact.[37]

In my reading of the *Xenia* and the *Apophoreta* as "Invaluable Collections", then, I have argued that even as these books claim to participate in a world in which value is governed by practical utility, they invert the expectations of that world so as to remove themselves from any sphere of value that is not the wholly poetic and intimately self-revealing. Indeed, both the *Xenia* and the *Apophoreta* offer a topsy-

[34] Fowler 1995, 55.

[35] A pastry Priapus makes a similar appearance at Petr. 60, shortly after a mention of offered *apophoreta*: *dum haec apophoreta iubemur sumere, respiciens ad mensam … iam illic repositorium cum placentis aliquot erat positum, quod medium Priapus a pistore factus tenebat*. Indeed, Petronian themes run throughout both this book and, especially, the former. Just as Trimalchio's dinner emphasized the artistic remaking of foodstuffs to such an extent that nothing was what it first appeared to be, Martial presents a collection that claims imminent dispersal in which poems claim to be foodstuffs, and food suggests even its own value is up for criticism.

[36] For a brief note regarding the numbering of this "pair", see Leary 1996, 15.

[37] Ruurd Nauta has remarked to me that *legas* (14.2.4) emphasizes that the "experience" of the *Apophoreta* is to be a distinctly literary one.

turvy world in which the very act of writing is subordinated to social utility precisely so that it might render this social utility impossible save in the realm of poetic identity.[38] In Martial's transformation of the "rough stuff of the physical world" into a perfected collection of poetic replicas (and perhaps his own poetic self), he has suggested in a suitably Saturnalian, and temptingly Flavian, way that objects of wildly different innate material—and social status—may be brought into the closest conceivable relation—effectively equalized—by the stroke of a pen.

In sum, the result of Martial's distich equalizations is an astounding world in which a sea-bass and a mushroom (13.89, 48), a Homer and a Catullus (14.184, 195) are not only *more like each other than they are like anything else*, but of continually vacillating—and so effectively interchangeable—identity.[39] As such, it might be tempting to contextualize this reading in the Flavian social and political rebuilding of a post-Neronian city, and especially in the radical transformation of the physical *urbs* from the Golden House of a madman to the monument of a people restored. But much as Martial's distichs offer tantalizing challenges to the notions of social and political identity—and its potential transformation—these challenges are mitigated by the firm inclusion of these poems as necessary components in a sealed Collection. For whatever else they might say about identify and transformation, the poems of the *Xenia* and the *Apophoreta* remain locked within a larger social and poetic system—the "Collection" writ large—from which neither they, nor our poet, are able to escape. And so just as a woodcock knows that the difference between he and a partridge is a matter not of taste, but of price-tag, so our poet seems to understand that his poetic illusions have their own, distinctly textual, limitations.

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[38] On the intimate association of the collection and the identity of the collector, see e.g. Stewart 1993, 162 and Basbanes 1995, 275–311.

[39] Indeed, it is interesting to note that whereas 14.1 expresses the poet's refusal to write "a Thebes, Troy, or dire Mycenae" that is, in a sense, precisely what he does when he contains Homer, Virgil, and Livy in his distichs. For a discussion of these miniature texts, and especially the latter, see Butrica 1983.

19. MARTIAL AND THE WRITER CANIUS RUFUS[1]

Sven Lorenz

In his dissertation *Sachwitz bei Martial*, Eckart Kuppe (1975, 75–7) discusses a number of epigrams in which Martial draws humorous comparisons between people and works of art. In his opinion, those poems contain some sort of “Situationskomik”, i.e. the readers can only laugh at such jokes if they are familiar with the people and the works of art that are mentioned in the respective epigrams. One example that Kuppe cites of this type of poem is Martial’s epigram 1.69:

> Coepit, Maxime, Pana quae solebat,
> nunc ostendere Canium Tarentos.
>
> (Mart. 1.69)

> Tarentos used to feature Pan, Maximus. Now she has begun to feature Canius.[2]

Martial refers to a statue of Pan in the city of Tarentum. Now in some way or another a certain Canius is said to have taken the statue’s place, so there must be a striking resemblance between the god Pan and Canius. We do not know either what that effigy looked like or in what way Canius and the Tarentine Pan were alike. The answer to the question what Canius and Pan had in common may, however, be found in the other epigrams which also mention a Canius: those are 1.61, 3.20, 3.64, 7.69, 7.87 and 10.48. We cannot be a hundred per cent sure that these poems really refer to the same Canius as 1.69, but—as I will try to make clear below—there are good reasons to believe that this is the case. In order to explain the content of 1.69, most interpreters of this epigram refer to 3.20, where a Canius Rufus is mentioned:

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[1] I would like to thank Leofranc Holford-Strevens and Niklas Holzberg for their comments on this paper. Furthermore I want to thank the participants of the Flavian Poetry Conference for their suggestions, especially Mario Citroni, Ruurd Nauta and Lindsay Watson.

[2] The text and translations of Martial’s epigrams are taken from Shackleton Bailey 1993.

Dic, Musa, quid agat Canius meus Rufus:
utrumne chartis tradit ille uicturis
legenda temporum acta Claudianorum?
An quae Neroni falsus astruit scriptor,
an aemulatur inprobi iocos Phaedri?
Lasciuus elegis an seuerus herois?
An in cothurnis horridus Sophocleis?
An otiosus in Schola Poetarum
lepore tinctos Attico sales narrat?
Hinc si recessit, porticum terit templi
an spatia carpit lentus Argonautarum?
An delicatae sole rursus Europae
inter tepentes post meridie buxos
sedet ambulatue liber acribus curis?
Titine thermis an lauatur Agrippae
an impudici balneo Tigillini?
An rure Tulli fruitur atque Lucani?
An Pollionis dulce currit ad quartum?
An aestuantis iam profectus ad Baias
piger Lucrino nauculatur in stagno?
"Vis scire quid agat Canius tuus? Ridet."

(Mart. 3.20)

Tell me, Muse, what is my friend Canius Rufus doing? Is he putting on paper the acts of Claudian times for posterity to read? Or does he emulate the compositions that a mendacious writer ascribed to Nero or the jokes of rascal Phaedrus? Is he wanton in elegy or solemn in epic or grim in Sophoclean buskins? Or idling in the Poets' Club, does he tell jests tinctured with Attic wit? When he leaves, does he tread the colonnade of the temple, or saunter through the spaces of the Argonauts? Or again does he sit or stroll in dainty Europa's sunshine among the box trees warm in the afternoon, free of gnawing cares? Is he bathing in Titus' warm waters or Agrippa's or the bath of libertine Tigellinus? Or enjoying the country seat of Tullus and Lucanus, or bowling along to Pollio's delightful place by the fourth milestone? Or has he already left for steaming Baiae and is he boating lazily in the Lucrine pool?—"You want to know what your friend Canius is doing? He's laughing."[3]

I shall discuss 3.20 in greater detail below. For now, suffice it to say that Martial first asks the Muse what his friend Canius Rufus is doing. Then, the poet himself offers a number of possible answers—for example, he suggests that Canius may be writing a work of literature.

[3] The text and translation of this epigram differ from Shackleton Bailey 1993, I.214–7 in that I print the manuscript reading *iocos* in line 5 and do not put *templi* (l. 10) in cruces.

Finally, the Muse answers that Canius is laughing: *ridet*. According to the *communis opinio*, this poem provides the information which is necessary in order to understand 1.69. Most scholars believe that Canius Rufus had travelled to the city of Tarentum, where there had been a statue of Pan.[4] That statue had resembled Canius in that the writer's face—as it is implied in 3.20—had always borne a wide smile and Pan was very often depicted laughing. It is widely believed that Canius, who is also associated with literature in other epigrams and who is mentioned as a guest in Martial's house in epigram 10.48, had been a fellow writer and close friend of the epigrammatist.[5] Pauly and Wissowa's *Realencyclopädie* lists him as a versatile author who was always in a good mood.[6]

Only a few scholars have doubted that 1.69 contains a comparison of Canius' and Pan's laughter.[7] However, even though it is fairly clear that Canius is presented as a humorous person in many of Martial's epigrams, this interpretation cannot be the whole truth. There are good reasons to believe that for 1.69 Martial had another *tertium comparationis* in mind than Canius' and Pan's facial expressions. Book 3 was probably published two years after Book 1.[8] This, of course, means that the first readers of the *liber primus* did not know epigram 3.20 and thus—unless they were personally acquainted with Canius—had no way of understanding 1.69 in the same way as most modern scholars do.[9]

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4 It seems fitting that Cicero mentions the statue of a satyr which could be seen in Tarentum (*Ver*. 2.4.135).

5 Cf. Citroni 1975, 223–4; Howell 1980, 265. Hofmann 1956/7, 437 suggests that a certain Iulius Rufus, who is mentioned in 10.99, may be identical with our Canius. Even though 10.99 and 1.69 are similar in content, it is hard to believe that.

6 Groag 1899: "… seine unversiegbare heitere Laune". It is worth noting that Martial's Canius does not feature in any other ancient source. The difficult *Epistula Valerii ad Rufum*, where a humorous writer named Canius (or Ganius or Cannius) is mentioned, was not written before the twelfth century AD and is obviously dependent on Martial's depiction of Canius (cf. Elter 1908, 474). Furthermore, it is certainly impossible to attribute the fragments which have been transmitted as the works of a certain Gannius (cf. *FPL*[3], 142–3) to Canius.

7 Jocelyn 1981, 280 wrote that "[i]t was no compliment […] to say that Canius smiled like the lecherous rustic deity. We may be dealing with another Canius, with one resident in Tarentum and resembling Pan in something other than facial expression." Cf. Prinz 1911, 74 n. 2; Hofmann 1956/7, 437 n. 12, 442.

8 Cf. Nauta 2002a, 442.

9 It seems highly unlikely that Martial wrote 3.20 as a sort of commentary on 1.69 and included it in his works in order to explain the joke in 1.69 to his anonymous

The big question is: did it matter to Martial that all of his readers could understand and enjoy all of his poems? I think it did, and disagree with Kuppe and other scholars, who assumed that some poems could only be enjoyed by Martial's personal friends. We should not forget that Martial wrote *Epigrammaton libri* for a wider audience. Even if it is true that Martial—as, for example, Ruurd Nauta (2002, 32–3) suggested—wrote at least some single epigrams for individual addressees and that the reception of the complete *Epigrammaton libri* was only a second step, the collection of epigrams in books seems to have been an important, if not the decisive, mode of publication.[10] So, if we assume that Martial did not want to exclude his anonymous readership from understanding even his more private poems, then we should ask ourselves whether there could be another feature of Canius which might have prompted the identification with Pan. This would have to be a feature which could be extrapolated from the text of Book 1 itself.

In this paper, I shall take a closer look at some of the epigrams in which Martial mentions a Canius, and try to reconstruct the image that Martial presents of Canius, but it is not the life and character of a historical Canius that interest me. The question whether Canius was a historical person or merely a fictional character from the epigrams cannot be conclusively answered anyway. Just like Martial's contemporary readers who were not personally acquainted with the epigrammatist and his friends I have no choice but to treat Canius as a literary character.

Let us start with the first passage in which Martial mentions a Canius. In 1.61—shortly before 1.69—Martial lists a number of earlier and contemporary writers and mentions their respective places of origin. In line 9, we encounter a Canius from Spanish Gades: *gaudent iocosae Canio suo Gades.*[11] Alfred Kappelmacher (1922/3, 216) believes that in this verse Martial associates Canius' character with the proverbial cheerfulness of his home town. And indeed Gades seems to have been a particularly lively and merry place. According to a number of literary sources from the imperial period—for example, Mar-

readership. It is true that there are some poems in the *Epigrammaton libri* which are explained in the epigrams that follow, but in those cases the interpretation is usually provided in the same *liber*. Cf., e.g., 4.74, which adds extra information to 4.35.

[10] Citroni 1988; Fowler 1995; Holzberg 2002b, 128–35; Lorenz 2002, 11–4.

[11] "Merry Gades rejoices in her Canius."

tial's epigrams[12]—, the town's best-known export article were the so-called *puellae Gaditanae*: female dancers and singers, who were famous for their ability to arouse their male audiences sexually. Mario Citroni (1975, 204) is therefore certainly right to explain Martial's phrase *iocosae Gades* as a reference to these *puellae*.[13]

Furthermore, Martial mentions Gades twice when he talks of morally dubious persons: In 1.41.12 he calls a Caecilius a "shameless impressario from Gades" (*de Gadibus improbus magister*) and in 3.63.5 a *bellus homo*—probably a *cinaedus*—is said to hum tunes from Gades. Martial's use of the terms *gaudere* and *iocosus*, which often have a sexual implication,[14] in 1.61.9 makes clear that the association of Gades with dubious morals is also present in this poem. That Canius is mentioned together with a number of undoubtedly real people, such as Catullus (l. 1), Virgil (l. 2) and Martial's *amicus* Stella (l. 4), may, of course, be a hint that Canius was a real person and not only a fictional character from the epigrams.[15] But even if this is the case, we must still pay attention to Martial's characterisation of Canius, which may contain fictional elements. It is in any case likely that at least some readers of 1.61 associated Canius with erotic entertainment and sexual exuberance.

This implicit characterisation of Canius may, in fact, make the link to Pan. In his article on Pan in the *Realencyclopädie*, Frank Brommer cites a host of examples for works of literature and art in which Pan is either presented dancing with the nymphs or on the prowl for objects of his sexual desire.[16] We may therefore conclude that ancient Roman readers associated Pan with exuberance and sexual lust rather than with his laughter. Of course, there are depictions of the laughing Pan, but as far as I know, Pan's laughter is not explicitly mentioned in ancient literature as one of the god's characteristic features. That Martial mentions Canius in 1.61 together with his home town Gades and terms the town *iocosae*, makes clear that there is indeed a connection between Canius and Pan which explains the comparison between the two

[12] 5.78.26–8, 6.71, 14.203.
[13] Cf. Fear 1991, 75.
[14] Cf. Adams 1982, 197–8 (on *gaudium*) and 161–2 (on *iocari/iocus*).
[15] Mario Citroni and Ruurd Nauta have pointed this out to me.
[16] Brommer 1956; cf., e.g., Ov. *Met.* 1.689–712.

in 1.69: the epigram is a joke at Canius' expense, who is presented as equally lecherous as Pan.[17]

In addition, the mention of Tarentum may provide further proof for this interpretation.[18] In literary works from the imperial period, Tarentum is presented as an even more dubious place than Gades. Horace terms the town *molle Tarentum* (*S.* 2.4.34) —the adjective may be a reference to the Tarentines' immoral sexual behaviour;[19] Juvenal, in his sixth satire, includes the place in his catalogue of bad foreign influences on Roman women (*coronatum et petulans madidumque Tarentum*; 297); and Servius (*ad* Verg. *A.* 3.552) writes *Tarentum, in quo molles et luxuriosi nascuntur.*[20] Tarentum's reputation as a place of sexual exuberance, once again, makes clear why Martial compares the Gaditan Canius to the Tarentine Pan.[21] It can therefore be concluded that epigram 1.69 evokes several associations which make this poem an attractive and entertaining read for all of Martial's readers, and not only the epigrammatist's personal friends.

Canius' humour and his sexual exuberance also allow for some tentative assumptions concerning the type of literature which the writer from *iocosae Gades* may indulge in. Of course, we cannot be sure about that, but Martial's Canius may well be the author of occasional humorous and erotic poetry or prose, for example of elegy or epigram. In fact, his writings may be similar to Martial's, whose literary *per-*

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[17] Jocelyn 1981, 280 seems to have thought of the same interpretation, but does not make the link to 1.61. While he is looking for "something other than facial expression" which Canius and Pan may have in common (cf. n. 7 above), he cites Call. fr. 689 Pf., where Pan's lecherous nature is mentioned; cf. Trypanis 1958, 281.

[18] Cf. Housman 1907, 233: "Tarentum, the great centre of the wool trade …, was the very place for an effigy of 'Pan ouium custos'." Brommer 1956, especially 973 and 998, lists a number of archaeological findings which clearly illustrate the widespread cult of Pan in that region. Therefore, I do not agree with the scholars who replace *quae* in 1.69.1 with *qui*. If *Tarentos* were masculine, it would not refer to the city, but to the place in the Campus Martius.

[19] Muecke 1993, 171.

[20] Cf. Cassius Dio's report on the beginning of the war against Pyrrhus (39.5–10), where the Tarentines are presented as notorious drinkers.

[21] In addition, the name of the addressee of 1.69, Maximus, may be relevant. It may be true that Maximus was a friend of Martial's (cf. Citroni 1975, 224), but the name also fits the place mentioned in 1.69: for it was none other than Q. Fabius Maximus who, in the second Punic war, regained Tarentum from the Carthaginians (Liv. 27.16; Plu. *Fab.* 21.1–23.3). It is worth noting that Q. Fabius Maximus allowed the Tarentines to keep their colossal effigies of the gods (Liv. 27.16.8; Plu. *Fab.* 22.5–6).

sona is also presented in many of the epigrams as a humorous person who is very interested in sexual encounters of all kinds.[22] We must, however, also take a close look at the above-mentioned epigram 3.20, where the laughing Canius Rufus is presented.

The text of 3.20, the exact identification of the literary genres mentioned in lines 2 to 9 and the topographical information given in the second half of the poem have been a source of endless debate.[23] I have nothing new to say about those problems; I wish rather to concentrate on the characterisation of Canius in 3.20. Of primary importance for our understanding of Canius Rufus' role in this poem is the fact that 3.20 can be read as an elaboration of 1.61, which also features a writer named Canius; the idea that both poems refer to the same Canius suggests itself. Of course, Martial's list of different literary genres has been responsible for the wide-spread belief that Martial's Canius was a versatile writer. But how does Martial's choice of Canius' possible literary genres fit his characterisation of Canius in 1.61 and 69? One would hardly expect the lecherous and exuberant Canius of Book 1 to indulge in such grand genres as historiography or tragedy—these are probably meant in lines 3 and 7.

What Martial probably wants to tell his readers is this: Canius has planned or mentioned several different literary projects, but in the end he does not come up with anything but humorous *sales* (l. 9).[24] He is thus presented as a show-off. After all the different *genera* listed in lines 2 to 7, the last literary form which Martial mentions in his catalogue of genres forms a drastic anticlimax. The notion of *narrare sales* contradicts the idea expressed in line 2 that Canius' works will be read by posterity (*chartis uicturis*). Martial suggests that Canius may have joined some people in the *Schola Poetarum*—this was probably a meeting place for Roman poets[25]—and entertained them by telling jokes (ll. 8–9). And when we read the following conditional clause *hinc si recessit* (l. 10), we suddenly realise that Canius *was* in fact telling jokes in the *Schola Poetarum* and did not attempt to pro-

[22] Cf. Lorenz 2002, 23–40.

[23] For example, the question has been raised whether the Phaedrus mentioned in l. 5 is to be identified with the fabulist of the same name or if Martial refers to a work in the style of the Platonic *Phaidros* (cf. Carratello 1964; Duret 1986, 3229).

[24] According to Duret 1986, 3229, Martial wanted to express in 3.20.1–9 that he and Canius were "hostiles à toute prétention et à toute enflure".

[25] Friedlaender 1886, I.292.

duce literature in any of the above mentioned genres. For, in order to go away from there (*hinc*), Canius must have been in the *Schola* in the first place. And in the lines that follow no explicit mention of any literary activity is being made. Instead we learn of Canius' many other *otia*.

That Canius does not indulge in any of the *genera grandia* is even more surprising if we compare Horace's *Epistle* 1.3, to which Martial alludes in 3.20.[26] Horace wonders what the poets, who accompanied Tiberius on a military Campaign, are doing.[27] For example, he mentions the possibility that they may praise the deeds of Augustus in epic poetry (l. 7), compose odes (l. 10) or write tragedy (l. 14). It is obvious that Martial's Canius is a completely different sort of poet who can hardly stand the comparison to that *studiosa cohors* (l. 6) of people who "combine poetic activity with civic duty".[28]

Even though Martial pokes fun of Canius' pretensions, he may approve of his colleague's "way of working". In many of his metapoetical epigrams, Martial presents himself *ironice* as a pseudo-writer whose works' greatest quality—as David Banta (1998, *passim*) made clear—is their apparent worthlessness. Martial's *persona*—like Canius—is also characterised as a show-off who sometimes turns out to be the butt of the jokes in skoptic epigrams.[29] Similarly, Canius, who does not fulfil the expectations that Martial has built up at the beginning of 3.20, is a rather ridiculous person. Furthermore, the humour in Martial's presentation of Canius may be emphasised by an intertextual reference. Georg Thiele (1906, 542–6) pointed out that the catalogue of genres in 3.20 is also influenced by Seneca's *Consolatio ad Polybium*, where different literary genres are presented as a remedy against the addressee's sorrows (8.3). The allusion to the *consolatio* has a comic effect. For there is no way of comparing Canius Rufus' situation to Polybius'.

The list of different places in the second half of 3.20 includes a further intertextual reference. It reminds the readers of Catullus' *carmen*

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26 I am grateful to Lindsay Watson for pointing the allusion to Horace out to me.

27 Apart from the common theme of the poetic activity of certain writers, both poets, Horace and Martial, pay much attention to the literary predecessors of the writers in question; cf. the notes in Mayer 1994, 126–9 on the literary models mentioned in Hor. *Ep.* 1.3.

28 Mayer 1994, 132.

29 On Martial's literary *persona* as a comic figure: Lorenz 2002, 16–21.

55. The text and the interpretation of that poem have been a source of endless debate.[30] It is, nevertheless, fairly clear that Catullus' *carmen*—similarly to Martial 3.20—presents the poet's search for a friend. Unlike Martial's Canius, Catullus' Camerius is not associated with the production of a literary work, but with amorous adventures. But, like 3.20, *c.* 55 mentions a number of places where the friend may be found—among those a *templum* (Catul. 55.5; Mart. 3.20.10). In addition, both poets mention an *ambulatio* (Catul. 55.6; Mart. 3.20.14), and the first line of 3.20 alludes to Catullus' phrase *dic nobis ubi sis futurus* (l. 15).[31] Finally, the last word of Mart. 3.20, *Ridet*, is also a reference to Catullus. It does not, however, refer to *c.* 55, but to the following poem, *c.* 56. There, Catullus begins his anecdote about a *ménage à trois*[32] with *O rem ridiculam, Cato, et iocosam / dignamque auribus et tuo cachinno*, i.e. with the depiction of laughter.[33] It may not be a coincidence that Martial refers to a pair of poems which are dominated by the theme of sexual encounters. Martial may implicitly characterise Canius as a sexually active person—and this, of course, reminds us of his characterisation of Canius in epigrams 1.61 and 69.

The humour of 3.20 depends on Martial's playing with the readers' expectations. At first, the readers learn that Canius may be writing a great literary work. But then Canius is unmasked as a show-off who will only produce literature in one of the lowest genres. This makes the concluding *ridet* an appropriate punch-line: all that is left of Canius' great plans is the sound of laughter. In fact, the last word of 3.20 may depict Canius' laughter at the people who were naive enough to expect him to come up with "real" literature in the *genera grandia*.

In addition, Luc Duret (1986, 3229–32) may be right to believe that *ridet* may imply that Canius produces humorous literary works—maybe epigrams. It is worth noting that the phrase *lepore tinctos sales* (l. 9) reminds one of Martial's characterisation of his own epigrams and may thus be a hint that Canius writes a kind of literature similar to

[30] Cf. Kroll 1968, 96–9.
[31] "Tell me where you are going to be."
[32] Cf. Holzberg 2002a, 46–7.
[33] "Oh what a ridiculous and amusing thing, Cato, worthy of your ears and your laughter!" Claes 2002, 83–4 has made clear that Catul. 55 and 56 are thematically linked. It is worth noting that the names which Catullus uses in *c.* 56, Cato and Catullus, alliterate (Kroll 1968, 100), and that this is also true of Camerius, the addressee of *c.* 55.

Martial's.[34] Similarly, baths and the town of Baiae, which are mentioned in lines 15–6 and 19, frequently feature in Martial's poems. Since the baths and Baiae were often associated with sexual adventures, it is possible that Martial, again, hints at the erotic content of Canius' works.[35]

Another epigram from Martial's *liber tertius* also presents Canius as the author of light humorous literary entertainment rather than as a serious writer. 3.64 reads as follows:

> Sirenas hilarem nauigantium poenam
> blandasque mortes gaudiumque crudele,
> quas nemo quondam deserebat auditas,
> fallax Vlixes dicitur reliquisse.
> Non miror: illud, Cassiane, mirarer,
> si fabulantem Canium reliquisset.
>
> (Mart. 3.64)

> The Sirens, lightsome bane of mariners, their beguiling death and cruel delight, whom once heard no man deserted—wily Ulysses is said to have left them. I am not surprised. I *should* be surprised, Cassianus, if he had left Canius in the middle of a story.

Here Martial compares a Canius to the Sirens, from whom Ulysses managed to escape. In the last two lines, it is said that it would have been much more surprising if Ulysses had left *Canius fabulans* (ll. 5–6). It is obvious that the epigram takes up the idea of the *narrare sales* in 3.20.8–9. There has been a debate whether 3.64 praises Canius as an excellent story teller or Martial presents him as a comic figure whose constant talking can get on people's nerves. In 1977, Frans van Dooren published a Dutch translation of the poem which made clear that he understood the poem as a joke at Canius' expense.[36] E.B. de Bruyn (1977, 291), however, was not happy with van Dooren's use of the word "gezever" ("prattle") to render *fabulantem* into Dutch. Neither did he approve of the choice of the verb "ontsnappen" ("escape")

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[34] *Sal* and *lepos* are also combined in 4.23.6–7 *qui si Cecropio satur lepore / Romanae sale luserit Mineruae*. For *sal* als a metapoetical term: 3.99.3, 5.2.4, 7.25.3, 8.3.19, 10.9.2, 13.1.4.

[35] Ofonius Tigellinus, an influential member of Nero's court, who built the baths which are mentioned in l. 16, was well-known for his immoral way of life (Busch 1999, 392). For baths as "a good place for picking up girls": Kay 1985, 171, 237.

[36] Van Dooren (1977, 290) translates the last two lines of 3.64 as follows: "Maar och, ik vind dat niet zo wonderlijk. / O nee, het was pas echt uitzonderlijk / wanneer Odysseus listig en doortrapt / aan Canius' gezever was ontsnapt."

for *relinquere*. According to De Bruyn, it was impossible that Martial criticised Canius in a way that would not have been appropriate for talking about a highly-regarded Roman citizen and close friend. De Bruyn (1977, 292; 1978, 46) accused van Dooren of being prejudiced and suspected that he had been misled by his wish to detect humorous punch-lines even in serious epigrams.

I believe, however, that looking for humour in Martial's epigrams is a venial sin and I find it difficult not to understand epigram 3.64 as humorous teasing.[37] It may well be true that Canius is being praised for his talent for telling stories. But the fact that Martial describes the Sirens, to whom Canius is obviously being compared in this epigram, as *poenam / blandasque mortes gaudiumque crudele* (ll. 1–2) makes fairly clear that the *Canius fabulans* may also—humorously—be regarded as a *poena*. In addition, the text of the epigrams on Canius that we have read so far does not suggest that Martial intended to present Canius as a serious person who would have to be treated in a particularly respectful way. In any case, 3.64 again makes clear that Canius is not presented as a serious writer, but as a talkative and entertaining person—as somebody for whom the production of occasional humorous literature would be appropriate.[38] But we also have to take a quick look at epigram 7.69:

Haec est illa tibi promissa Theophila, Cani,
  cuius Cecropia pectora dote madent.
Hanc sibi iure petat magni senis Atticus hortus,
  nec minus esse suam Stoica turba uelit.
Viuet opus quodcumque per has emiseris aures;
  tam non femineum nec populare sapit.
Non tua Pantaenis nimium se praeferat illi,
  quamuis Pierio sit bene nota choro.
Carmina fingentem Sappho laudarit amatrix:
  castior haec et non doctior illa fuit.

(Mart. 7.69)

Canius, this is your promised bride, Theophila, whose mind is steeped in Cecropian riches. The Attic garden of the great ancient could rightfully claim her, nor less would the Stoic throng wish her theirs. Whatever work you send forth through her ears will live; so unwomanlike is her taste, so far removed from the common. Your Pantaenis would

[37] Cf. van Dooren 1977, 294; 1978, 47–8.

[38] It may not be a coincidence that in epigram 10.48 a Canius, among others, is invited to Martial's villa to have a pleasant evening telling *ioci* (l. 21).

> scarcely claim to be her superior, well-known though she be to the Pierian choir. Sappho would love her and praise her verse-making. Theophila is more pure and Sappho was not more accomplished.

Here it is said that if Canius reads his *opus* to a certain Theophila before publication, this *recitatio* will ensure that Canius' work will be read by posterity (ll. 5–6). Is Canius, after all, presented as a serious writer whose works have been approved by a *puella docta* and *casta*, who is said to be even more erudite than Sappho (ll. 3–4, 9–10)?[39] I do not intend to join the debate on this difficult poem, which has never been convincingly interpreted as a whole. And I admit that I have no coherent interpretation of 7.69 to offer myself. One thing, however, seems quite clear to me: there are good reasons to doubt the sincerity of Martial's praise of Theophila's *castitas* and, thus, of her literary and philosophical expertise.

First of all, it has to be emphasised that the nature of Theophila's relationship to Canius is far from clear. She may be Canius' fiancée, as some scholars believe,[40] but it is equally possible that she is a fictional *puella docta*—maybe a character from Canius' erotic writings.[41] Similarly, a certain Pantaenis is either a rival of Theophila for a love relationship to Canius, or Pantaenis may be the name of a literary work. Be that as it may, Niklas Holzberg (forthcoming) has recently shown that these two names integrate 7.69 closely into the context of the *liber septimus*. For it is fairly obvious that the morphological elements of the names *Theophila* and *Pantaenis* are also present in the name *Philaenis*. And a *tribas*—today we would say, a lesbian—of that name is being attacked in epigrams 7.67 and 70, i.e. in the immediate surrounding of 7.69. When Martial writes of Theophila that her taste is "unwomanlike" (*tam non femineum sapit*; 7.69.6) and of the *tribas* Philaenis that to her *fellare* is "not manly enough" (*parum uirile*; 7.67.14), it becomes more and more obvious that the reader should draw a link between the women mentioned in 7.67, 69 and 70. In this context, the comparison between Theophila and Sappho at the end of 7.69 can also be seen in a new light. In Antiquity, Sappho was not only regarded as an excellent female poet, but also served as a stock-

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39 Thus the *communis opinio*; cf. Thiele 1906, 543; Duret 1986, 3221–2; Galán Vioque 2002, 395–6.

40 Cf. Galán Vioque 2002, 395–6.

41 Holzberg (forthcoming).

example for a *tribas*[42]—and, as I said, the Philaenis in 7.67 and 70 *is* a *tribas*. 7.67, 69 and 70 include an implicit comparison not only between Sappho and Theophila, but also between Sappho, Theophila and Philaenis—and this comparison may not be completely unfounded. The following conclusion can be drawn: if Theophila really is an expert who can judge Canius' *opus* in a competent way, then we may well assume that her special subject is the depiction of sexual activity in literature. There are good reasons to believe that Canius—again—is being associated with erotic poetry or prose.

Finally, the characterisation of Canius as a humorous and lecherous person is repeated in 7.87 where the bizarre "pets" of some of Martial's friends are listed—among them Canius' *tristis Aethiops* (l. 2). Pat and Lindsay Watson (2003, 261) are probably right to state that the adjective *tristis* is used in order to show that it was "improbable that Canius should take pleasure in an individual whose gloominess was temperamentally alien to him". In addition, they point out that an erotic relationship to that black African slave is implied.[43] As I said, I do not call into question the wide-spread notion that Canius is presented as a humorous person. But I hope to have made clear that his association with sexual matters is an equally prominent feature in Martial's poems about Canius.

There are obviously good reasons to believe that Martial's contemporaries read the Canius poems as part of the characterisation of one single Canius. If we also do that, and if we read all these poems in the order of their appearance in Martial's works—i.e. 1.61 and 69 before 3.20 and 64—, then we arrive at the following conclusion. Martial presents Canius as a comic figure who could make any reader of the epigrams laugh. The Canius poems are thus an entertaining read for Martial's whole audience.

If our Canius really existed and if he really was a friend of Martial's, then he will, of course, have read the epigrams in question differently from the anonymous readership of the *Epigrammaton libri*. But if that Canius really was a writer of small pieces of erotic literature—maybe even of epigram—, then he must have been familiar with the rules of the humorous epigrammatic genre, i.e. he may well have

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42 Holzberg 2000, 33–4.

43 It is rather difficult to follow Galán Vioque 2002, 467, who believes that the Canius in 7.87 is "not to be identified with Canius Rufus, who is often mentioned by the poet".

appreciated Martial's jokes. The possibility that Martial and Canius really *were* friends does therefore not contradict the interpretation that Martial was joking at Canius' expense. Furthermore, if Canius was a writer, Martial may allude to Canius' writings, i.e. Martial's contemporary readers may have recognised references to Canius' works on a Theophila, a Pantaenis or maybe even a *tristis Aethiops*.[44] However, I want to emphasise again that we do not have to know Canius personally or be familiar with his works in order to understand and enjoy these poems—and neither did the anonymous readers at Martial's time. All the interpretations that I have presented in this paper can be gathered from the poems themselves or from their context in the *Epigrammaton libri*.

In my opinion we should not be too optimistic about our chances of reconstructing Martial's and his friends' private lives from the text of the epigrams. In fact, such an approach has often hindered our understanding of the literary qualities of the epigrams, their puns, or their intertextual content. In any case, we should not forget that Martial only provides us with a collage of different character traits—real or fictional—of his Canius which could never present the complete picture of a historical person. For our understanding of the epigrams, it would be helpful if we were willing sometimes to abandon the historian's perspective and accept our role as members of Martial's anonymous readers.

[44] Cf. P. Watson 1999 on 6.21, where Martial alludes to the writings of his *amicus* Stella, which are now lost to us.

20. IDENTIFIED QUOTATIONS AND LITERARY MODELS: THE EXAMPLE OF MARTIAL 2.41[*]

Craig Williams

Until fairly recently, discussion of the relationship between the most important Roman epigrammatist and his predecessors was dominated by catalogues of verbal and metrical parallels and fairly straightforward thematic comparisons.[1] But there has been a growing tendency to consider Martial's allusive practices in light of insights gained from work on such genres as epic, didactic, lyric and elegy, which encourages us to ask rather more complex questions.[2] Here I aim to contribute to this discussion by focusing on an epigram that opens by quoting a verse from Ovid and explicitly telling us it is doing so. That verse, however, is nowhere to be found in our Ovidian corpus, and the questions raised by this fact will lead me to propose a refinement of our vocabulary for describing intertextual relationships in general and models in particular that has a range of application extending beyond this single case. We will see, moreover, that this self-proclaimed quotation is only the first and most obvious in a series of intertextual connections that this epigram establishes with Ovid and others, and that a reading of the poem against earlier texts can heighten our awareness of its invective techniques.

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"Ride si sapis, o puella, ride"
Paelignus, puto, dixerat poeta.

[*] I wish to thank Alessandro Barchiesi, Ralph Hexter and Elena Merli for reading and commenting on earlier versions of this paper.

[1] See, for example, Paukstadt 1876; Wagner 1880; Zingerle 1877; Pertsch 1911; Prinz 1911; Autore 1937; Ferguson 1963; Siedschlag 1972; Sullivan 1991, 105–7; Pitcher 1998; Szelest 1999; La Penna 2000, 103–7.

[2] For general discussions of intertextuality in ancient poetry, see Conte and Barchiesi 1989; Hinds 1998; Fowler 2000; Barchiesi 2001; Edmunds 2001. Work on Martial includes Giordano 1996; Hinds 1998, 129–35; P. Watson 1998; Williams 2002.

Sed non dixerat omnibus puellis.
Verum ut dixerit omnibus puellis,
non dixit tibi: tu puella non es,
et tres sunt tibi, Maximina, dentes,
sed plane piceique buxeique.
Quare si speculo mihique credis,
debes non aliter timere risum
quam uentum Spanius manumque Priscus,
quam cretata timet Fabulla nimbum,
cerussata timet Sabella solem.
Vultus indue tu magis seueros
quam coniunx Priami nurusque maior.
Mimos ridiculi Philistionis
et conuiuia nequiora uita
et quidquid lepida procacitate
laxat perspicuo labella risu.
Te maestae decet adsidere matri
lugentique uirum piumue fratrem,
et tantum tragicis uacare Musis.
At tu iudicium secuta nostrum
plora si sapis, o puella, plora.

(Martial 2.41)

"Laugh, girl; if you're smart, laugh!"—so, I believe, the Paelignian poet once said. But he didn't say it to every girl; or if he did say it to every girl, he didn't say it to you. You're not a girl and you've got three teeth, Maximina, the color of pitch and boxwood at that. So if you trust your mirror and me, you ought to fear laughter as much as Spanius fears the wind and Priscus the touch of a hand, as much as Fabulla with all her makeup fears a raincloud, or Sabella with her white lead fears the sun. Adopt a facial expression grimmer than that of Priam's wife or the eldest of his daughters-in-law. Avoid the mime plays of the comic Philistion, and naughtier parties, and whatever with delightful wantonness causes the lips to relax in a broad smile. Instead, you should sit with a grieving mother, or with one mourning her husband or faithful brother; you should dedicate all your time to the tragic Muses. So then, take my advice: weep, girl; if you're smart, weep!

Understandably enough, the first question that most scholars pose when confronting this characteristic illustration of Martial's invective prowess is this: What is the Ovidian model of the verse which is quoted at the poem's opening, fuels the invective which constitutes the poem's body, and is strategically reformulated at its end? I will return below to that question and to the answers that have generally been supplied, in the form of references to two passages from the third

book of the *Ars amatoria* (and I will add another ingredient into the mix). But at the outset I wish to suggest that discussion of the point has tended to blur two distinct though interrelated objects of inquiry: the relationship between Martial's opening quotation and a specific Ovidian line or lines, taken more or less as linguistic raw material on which the quotation is based; and the relationship between Martial's epigram as a whole and certain Ovidian passages, seen less as sources of linguistic raw material than as texts standing in some more extensive relationship with Martial's epigram. In other words, two basic approaches to the interpretation of allusion—one "formal", or focusing on "local contact", the other "thematic", or focusing on "systematic contact"—seem to have become blurred in this case.[3]

The following sigla and vocabulary may help clarify the problem.[4]

T1: The target text (here, Mart. 2.41)
T2: The source text (here, the third book of Ovid's *Ars amatoria*)

Q1: The quotation, allusion, or reference in T1 (here, 2.41.1: *ride si sapis, o puella, ride*)
Q2: The source of that quotation (here, certain verses in *Ars amatoria* 3)

C1: The context in which Q1 is found (here, Martial 2.41 in whole or part)
C2: The context in which Q2 is found (here, the contexts, however delineated, of the verses from *Ars amatoria* 3)

Two qualifications suggest themselves immediately. First, this scheme might be taken to imply that for any given target text there is only *one* source text with quotation and accompanying context. As we will see,

[3] In the only sustained discussion of this epigram known to me, Cristante 1990 implicitly blends the two approaches to the problem. Otherwise, commentators and translators have pointed to a single line or couplet from *Ars amatoria* 3 with little more than the traditional "cf.", sometimes adding a vague reference to an "echo" (see below, n. 25). For "formal" vs. "thematic" approaches to intertextual reference, see Wills 1998, and for "local" vs. "systematic", Hinds 1998, 100–4. Compare also the distinction between "text reference" and "system reference" (Plett 1988, 314, citing Broich and Pfister 1985), in turn related to the famous Saussurean contrast between *parole* and *langue*.

[4] These sigla have been used most recently by Edmunds 2001.

the case at hand reminds us of the obvious truth that the realities are more complex: for any given T1 with its Q1 and C1 there may be a T2, T3, T4, etc., with corresponding Q2, Q3, Q4, etc. and C2, C3, C4, etc.—a phenomenon of simultaneous multiple reference variously called "conflation" or "combined reference".[5] Secondly, the scheme suggests an unproblematically direct relationship between Q1 together with its C1 on the one hand and Q2 with its C2 on the other. I propose to break those bonds, considering the relationship between Q1 and Q2 as one phenomenon and that between C1 and C2 as another.

Inspired by Alessandro Barchiesi's and Gian Biagio Conte's distinction between two types of literary "model"—the *modello esemplare* or "example model" and the *modello codice* or "code model"[6]—but departing from it in some important particulars,[7] I propose yet another vocabulary, but in doing so wish to emphasize that I am not denying the utility of other terminology. When describing intertextual phenomena we may detect a *linguistic model*, a focused textual moment such as a phrase or a verse that supplies raw material—individual words or phrases—to a specific moment in a later text; and a *thematic model*, a larger textual unit such as an entire poem or a passage in a more extensive work that functions more generally as an inspiring presence on the level of theme and structure—independently of whether any linguistic models may be identified within it—and potentially also as a presence against which the later text might take a combative or corrective stance. Like all such binary attempts at categorizing, this distinction is not universally applicable and is liable to an overly rigid application: it has long been recognized, for example, that the related distinction between *form* and *content* breaks down to the extent that the two are ultimately inseparable. Nonetheless, like many such antitheses, it does offer a certain heuristic utility.

Two famous instances of intertextual reference in Latin poetry will serve to illustrate how this language of models might help organize

[5] Cf. Thomas 1986 ("conflation") and Wills 1998 ("combined reference").

[6] Conte and Barchiesi 1989, 94–5; the translations are those proposed by Hinds 1998, 41–2, who suggests a further gloss of *modello esemplare* as "modelling by particular source-passage".

[7] While the concept of *modello codice* is linked to that of literary genre—indeed, Conte had earlier proposed the term *modello genere*—and a given text can apparently have only one such model, according to my proposed terminology a given text might have more than one "thematic model", nor would all relevant thematic models necessarily belong to the same literary genre.

discussion. First, it would not be difficult to argue that Ovid's *arma graui numero uiolentaque bella parabam / edere* (*Am.* 1.1.1–2) has Virgil's *arma uirumque cano* (*A.* 1.1) and *dicam horrida bella* (*A.* 7.41) as linguistic models.[8] But it would be harder to justify speaking of the proem of the *Aeneid* or the opening of its seventh book as thematic models for the opening of the *Amores*: for that, one will look to passages like the prologue to Callimachus' *Aetia* or Virgil's *Eclogues*, 6.3–5. Second, the Catullan *inuita, o regina, tuo de uertice cessi* (66.39) obviously functions as a linguistic model for Virgil's *inuitus, regina, tuo de litore cessi* (*A.* 6.460). Discussion becomes more complex when we ask to what extent we might see the passage in which the Catullan verse is found, itself inspired by a Callimachean text and representing a lock of hair describing its separation from Berenice's head, as a thematic model for the Virgilian scene in which Aeneas defends himself to Dido's shade in the Fields of Mourning.[9]

A final general consideration. While as a matter of principle the two types of models are independent, in practice they are closely intertwined, such that when we have identified a thematic model, the likelihood that specific textual moments in the passage function as linguistic models becomes greater. Conversely, once we have identified a linguistic model, we may become more perceptive of ways in which its context might serve as a thematic model. Yet the two types of model do not always automatically coincide in this way. On the one hand, Edmunds points to such extensive intertextual programs as those between the *Aeneid* and Homer, or the *Georgics* and Hesiod, Aratus, Lucretius, and Homer, observing that "in such large-scale programs, the continous relation between C1 and C2 is operative *even in the absence of quotation*" (Edmunds 2001, 140; emphasis added). Reformulating the point in terms of models, we could say that a given text may

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[8] The first in particular has drawn critical attention. In addition to the emphatic opening *arma* (a point which reminds us that a linguistic model may supply only one word to a later text), Stroh 1971, 145 n. 19 observes the similarity in vowel pattern between *A.* 1.1 (*a*, *a*, *i*, *u*, *e*, *a*, *o*) and Ov. *Am.* 1.1.1 (*a*, *a*, *a*, *i*, *u*, *e*, *o*), while Wills 1996, 19 notes that *arma graui numero* and *arma uirumque cano* "almost correspond as anagrams".

[9] The connection has perplexed generations of critics: in his 1941 Oxford commentary on the sixth book of the *Aeneid*, Frank Fletcher speaks of "a surprising, and presumably unconscious echo", as does R.D. Williams in his 1972 commentary ("astonishing …, so much so that I prefer to read the line as a wholly unconscious reminiscence"). See Lyne 1994; Wills 1998; and Edmunds 2001, 151–2 for attempts to go beyond this kind of response.

function as thematic model for a later text without containing any linguistic models within it. The point does not seem controversial. The other possible extreme is more open to debate. Edmunds speaks for many when he asserts: "Q1 will always invoke something more than the mere words of Q2" (Edmunds 2001, 139). Using a different terminology, I would argue that it is sometimes possible to identify a linguistic model whose context offers so little beyond raw material to the later text that it is not helpful to speak of a thematic model at work in this intertextual relationship.

* * *

The attempt to convince other readers that a given text functions as a model for a later text is precisely what fuels so much scholarly debate on these questions; some claims will find more agreement than others. Yet there are some texts which, like the opening of Martial 2.41, in effect openly proclaim their use of a linguistic model by explicitly representing themselves as quoting an earlier text. The phenomenon has received suprisingly little discussion. Among classicists, Gian Biagio Conte has briefly discussed what he calls "citazioni",[10] and in a more broadly framed theoretical discussion, Heinrich Plett has spoken of "quotation with explicit markers", to be distinguished from the much more common and usually more complex technique of quotation with implicit markers, to which he dedicates more attention.[11] A less cumbersome label for the phenomenon would be helpful, and since the broad term "citation" is sometimes used to refer to other phenomena,[12] I propose to speak of *identified quotations*.[13]

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[10] Conte 1985, 37–8 = 1986, 59–60.

[11] Plett 1988, 321. He gives an example from Joyce's *Ulysses*: "If youth but knew. But what does Shakespeare say? *Put but money in thy purse*.—Iago, Stephen murmured." In a remark quite relevant to Martial 2.41, Plett adds that even quotations with explicit markers "have to be considered with caution, for … the quotation marked as such may turn out a pseudo-quotation" (Plett 1988, 322). For discussion of the phenomenon in other literary traditions, along with some theoretical considerations, see Hebel 1989, 1–4 and Index, s.v. "Quotation (general, theory)".

[12] Edmunds 2001, 134–7, for example, uses the term to refer to a poet's quotation of someone else's quotation of an earlier text.

[13] In what follows I am focusing only on identified quotation in poetic texts. Prose texts like Pliny's letters or Quintilian's *Institutio oratoria* are of course peppered with identified quotations, but a specialist's references to his sources represent a substantially different phenomenon.

The use of identified quotations might well be seen as an extreme version of the tendency in Latin poetic practice to what has been called "openness": one of the groundrules was that a poet must not actively try to conceal his use of earlier material.[14] Interestingly, however, identified quotations are rarely found in extant Latin poetry. Persius quotes and identifies as such a line from Ennius (6.9 *"Lunai portum, est operae, cognoscite, ciues" / cor iubet hoc Enni ...*), and Ausonius a phrase from Lucilius (*Lucili uatis "subpilo pullipremo*", *Epigr.* 77.8 Peiper); Ausonius also opens his dedicatory epigram with an identified quotation from Catullus that unmistakably echoes Martial's own quotation of Ovid in 2.41 (*"Cui dono lepidum nouum libellum?" / Veronensis ait poeta quondam ...*, *Ecl.* 1.1).[15] But otherwise the technique is rarely found in Latin poetry—except, precisely, in Martial, where we find it in no less than six epigrams, including 2.41. It may not be coincidental that such a relatively high concentration of examples of the technique—clear, concise, and direct as it is—is found in epigram, a genre that prided itself on its forthright language,[16] and in Martial in particular, whose poetry Pliny praised for its *candor* as well as its *sal* and *fel* (Plin. *Ep.* 3.21). It is also noteworthy that four of the six examples in Martial are found in epigrams concerned with

[14] Consider Cicero's famous apostrophe to Ennius at *Brutus* 76: *qui a Naeuio uel sumpsisti multa, si fateris, uel, si negas, surripuisti.* For "openness" in both ancient and modern discussions of borrowing or allusion, see Hinds 1998, 21–5.

[15] Cristante 1990, 184 n. 18 doubts Martial's influence on Ausonius' epigram, claiming that "*ait* rispetto a *puto dixerat* è tecnico e formulare per introdurre appunto una citazione" (*TLL* 1.1455 and following, Kühner-Stegmann 1962, II.533), but this is no real counterargument. In general, Martial "should be counted among [Ausonius'] principal models" (Green 1991, xx). As further examples of the phenomenon in Latin poetry, Siedschlag 1977, 115 cites Hor. *S.* 1.2.120–2 (*illam "post paullo", "sed pluris", "si exierit uir" / Gallis, hanc Philodemus ait sibi quae neque magno / stet pretio neque cunctetur cum est iussa uenire*) and Petr. 132.15 (*ipse pater ueri doctus Epicurus in arte / iussit, et hoc uitam dicit habere telos*), but the fact that these authors are quoting from, and in Horace's case also translating, a Greek original produces a different dynamic. Examples in Greek epigram include a poem by Lucillius, an influential predecessor of Martial's (*AP* 9.572, quoting the opening words of the *Iliad, Odyssey* and *Theogony*; for Lucillius and Martial see Burnikel 1980) as well as *AP* 10.51 (Palladas, quoting Pindar), 11.370 (Macedonius, quoting Pindar), 12.1 (Strato, quoting Aratus).

[16] Cf. Mart. 1.*ep. iocorum nostrorum simplicitas*; *lasciua uerborum ueritas*; 2.*ep. epigrammata curione non egent et contenta sunt sua, id est mala, lingua.*

Martial's own poetic practice:[17] such self-referential poems seem particularly hospitable to a device like this.

What is particularly striking about the identified quotation with which 2.41 begins is that the line *ride si sapis, o puella, ride* is nowhere to be found in the extant corpus of Ovid—nor could it be, in view of its hendecasyllabic meter. Also of note is the parenthetical *puto* in the following line, qualifying the explicit act of attribution. This is the only case of identified quotation in Martial (indeed, to my knowledge the only one overall) which is accompanied by an explicit qualifier of this kind: contrast Ausonius' *quondam* with Martial's *puto*. The verb complicates matters, for, while parenthetical *puto* normally signals polite confidence,[18] there always lurks the potential for ambiguity. In view of the meter of Martial's epigram, we might well wonder whether *puto* is playing with us.

Puto is interesting in another way. It has been much discussed that verbs like *memini, agnosco*, and *recordor*, uttered "in character" by a figure within a poetic text, sometimes trigger reflexive allusions which point attentive readers to earlier texts in a phenomenon closely related to the authorial "Alexandrian footnote" signaled by such expressions as *dicitur* (cf. Catul. 64.2), *fertur, perhibent,* or *ut fama est*. Famous examples include Ariadne's *memini* at Ov. *Fast*. 3.473 (pointing back to Catul. 64.130–5, 143–4) and the matron's vatic *agnosco* at Lucan 1.686 (making a connection with Verg. *A*. 2.557–8).[19] By contrast,

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[17] In 8.55, quoting Virgil by name, Martial proposes the analogy Maecenas : Virgil :: Flaccus : Martial. In 10.64 and 11.20 Martial uses identified quotations from Lucan and Augustus respectively to justify the obscenity of his own verse. In 11.90 Martial quotes a verse from Lucilius in which the latter names himself (*Lucili columella hic situ' Metrophanes*) in the context of a defense of his own style combined with a criticism of rough, archaic style. The two instances occurring in epigrams not directly concerned with Martial *qua* poet share noticeable similarities to each other. Like 2.41, 9.70 begins with an identified quotation (*Dixerat "o mores! o tempora!" Tullius olim*), modulates into invective against Caecilianus, who often repeats the phrase by way of expressing moralizing outrage, and ends by reformulating the opening quotation to the detriment of the addressee (*non nostri faciunt tibi quod tua tempora sordent, / sed faciunt mores, Caeciliane, tui*), thus creating, as in 2.41, a ring composition.

[18] Parenthetical *puto* is quite common both in Martial (Siedschlag 1979 lists 40 occurrences) and in Ovid (I count 28 occurrences).

[19] See Ross 1975 ("Alexandrian footnote"); Thomas 1986; Conte 1986, 57–69; Barchiesi 1993, 350–3; Wills 1996, 30–1; Hinds 1998, 4–10. More recently, Merli 2001 treats Ov. *Fast*. 5.646 (*Albula, si memini, tunc mihi nomen erat*) from a similar perspective.

Martial's *puto* is uttered in the voice of the poet himself in the midst of a line which openly identifies the source of the quotation (*Paelignus poeta*). The loud proclamation that he is quoting Ovid would thus seem to deny readers the intellectual pleasure typically associated with discovering an allusion.[20] Yet the inherent ambiguity of the verb *puto* itself, as opposed to *memini* or *agnosco*, suggests that in this case things may not be so simple, and raises the possibility of another but related type of pleasure: that of "discovering" that the poet is wrong.[21]

There has been an interesting divide in scholarly reactions to that simple verb. On the one hand, most editors of Ovid and of the Latin poetic fragments tacitly ignore its teasing potential and take Martial at his word, attributing the line to some now-lost text by Ovid. The verse is listed among the Ovidian *incertae sedis uersus* or *fragmenta* in Lenz' 1932 Teubner and Owen's 1933 OCT editions of Ovid (fr. 11 and fr. 13 respectively), and in both older and most recent editions of the *Fragmenta Poetarum Latinorum* (Ovid fr. 6).[22] And indeed, the hypothesis that Martial's quotation is verbatim is not in itself unlikely. For all we know, Ovid may well have published a poem in hendecasyllabics containing the verse *ride si sapis, o puella, ride*. Scattered sources indicate that Ovid published *epigrammata* in elegiac couplets; there is some reason to think that Ovid published poetry in hendecasyllabics; and that meter had already been used by such influential writers of epigram as Catullus and Furius Bibaculus.[23]

Presumably under the influence of the teasing potential of *puto*, on the other hand, scholars of Martial from Zingerle onwards have almost unanimously asserted that the opening verse of 2.41 is not a direct quotation but rather constitutes some kind of reference to one or two passages from the third book of the *Ars amatoria* involving girls and laughing. Their descriptions of the phenomenon have tended to be vague—"perhaps" Martial's opening verse constitutes an "echo" of one of these lines, or "maybe" Martial was "thinking of" one of

[20] Cf. Conte 1986, 38.

[21] I thank Ralph Hexter for helping me to formulate this point.

[22] Seemingly alone among modern editors of the Latin fragments, Courtney 1993, 310 identifies the line as *falsum*. See Cristante 1990 for a history of scholarly proposals with regard to the source of Martial's Ovidian verse, taken to be a verbatim quotation, since the time of the Italian humanists.

[23] Prisc. *GLK* 2.149 (*et testis Ouidius in epigrammatis*). Quint. *Inst.* 12.10.75 cites two hendecasyllabic verses which he attributes to Ovid, though there has been some dispute about the text.

them.[24] Furthermore, these scholars do not entertain the hypothesis that the quotation is verbatim. For them it is apparently an either/or situation: either the verse is a direct quotation from an Ovidian poem now lost, or it is some ill-defined kind of echo, a rewording of one or more passages from the *Ars amatoria*.[25] Here I will be arguing that passages from *Ars amatoria* 3 do indeed lie behind this epigram as a whole, and that Martial's *ride si sapis, o puella, ride* stands in some relationship with specific verses from these passages. But this does not exclude the other possibility, namely that Ovid also had published a poem in hendecasyllabics containing this verse—a poem which, for all we know, might have explored some of the same themes as those found in *Ars amatoria* 3 using similar language.[26] Given our fragmentary knowledge of Ovid's output, Martial's *puto* must remain something of a tease.

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In the first of the passages that have been signaled by scholars, Ovid offers women advice on how to play down their weaknesses.

> Exiguo signet gestu, quodcumque loquetur,
>   cui digiti pingues et scaber unguis erit.
> Cui grauis oris odor, numquam ieiuna loquatur
>   et semper spatio distet ab ore uiri;
> si niger aut ingens aut non erit ordine natus
>   dens tibi, ridendo maxima damna feres.

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[24] Szelest 1999, 861 ("zwar taucht dieser Vers in den erhaltenen Dichtungen Ovids nicht auf, aber er kann ein Widerhall der Verse aus der *Ars amatoria* sein"); Friedlaender ("Martial schwebte vielleicht die Stelle A.a. III 281 ss. und zugleich III 513 vor"); Barié-Schindler ("vgl. vielleicht …"); Bridge-Lake ("the line is not to be found in Ovid; however, compare …"); Shackleton Bailey ("Martial may be thinking of *Ars* 3.5.13 (*sic*)"). The only exception among scholars of Martial is Sullivan 1991, 225, who assumes—likewise with some hesitation—that the line is taken from a now-lost Ovidian text.

[25] Cristante 1990, 186 makes the point explicitly: "I vari punti di contatto [between the epigram and *Ars amatoria* 3] … *di certo escludono la citazione diretta* che, proprio per gli espliciti riferimenti all'*Ars*, non avrebbe potuto assumere la struttura metrica del faleceo" (emphasis added).

[26] It is enough to think of various thematic and linguistic parallels between Ovidian texts, e.g. the *Ars amatoria* and the *Amores* or the *Metamorphoses* and the *Fasti.* In each case, if only one of the relevant texts had survived, we might fall into the trap of identifying that text as "the" source for some later allusion.

Quis credat? Discunt etiam ridere puellae,
quaeritur atque illis hac quoque parte decor:
sint modici rictus paruaeque utrimque lacunae,
et summos dentes ima labella tegant,
nec sua perpetuo contendant ilia risu,
sed leue nescioquid femineumque sonet.
Est, quae peruerso distorqueat ora cachinno;
cum risu laeta est altera, flere putes;
illa sonat raucum quiddam atque inamabile: ridet,
ut rudit a scabra turpis asella mola.
Quo non ars penetrat? Discunt lacrimare decenter
quoque uolunt plorant tempore quoque modo.

(Ov. *Ars* 3.275–92)

Let a woman with thick fingers and rough fingernails express what she wants to say with restrained gestures. One with bad breath ought never to talk on an empty stomach, and should always stand at some distance from the man's face. If your teeth are blackened, or oversized, or irregular, you will do great damage by laughing. Who could believe it? Girls learn even how to laugh; in this, too, they seek to be attractive. Let the mouth open but moderately, let the gaps on each side be small, and let the lowest part of the lips cover the upper part of the teeth. Nor should they strain themselves with constant laughter, but the sound should be somehow light and feminine. There are some who distort their faces with a misshapen guffaw; another is happily laughing, but you would think she is weeping. This woman makes some harsh, unlovely sound: her laugh is like the braying of an ugly donkey at the rough millstone. How far art reaches! They learn how to cry with decorum; they weep whenever and however they wish.

There is clearly a close relationship between this passage and Martial's epigram. Ovid moves from women with unattractively darkened teeth (*niger … dens*) to the possibility of learning first how to laugh (*discunt etiam ridere puellae*, 281) and then how to weep (*discunt lacrimare*, 292; *plorant*, 293); and in a single line he describes a woman whose laughter is such that one might think she is actually weeping (*cum risu laeta est altera, flere putes*, 287). Martial's poem, revolving around the image of blackened and yellowed teeth (*dentes … piceique buxeique*), is framed by the two images found in the two halves of the Ovidian verse just cited, moving from an opening recommendation to laugh (*ride*) to a closing exhortation to the same woman to weep (*plora*). The very name *Maximina*, found nowhere else in Martial,

echoes Ovid's *ridendo* *<u>maxima</u>* *damna feres* (280),[27] a phrase which expresses the essence of Martial's advice. It is, in short, fairly easy to argue that the Ovidian passage, with its interweaving of imagery of laughing, weeping, and ugly teeth in words of advice addressed to women, functions as a thematic model for Martial's epigram.

Having identified this model, we might ask what the later text does with it. Didactic has become invective, and Maximina, whose horrendous smile with its discolored teeth will send men running, perfectly exemplifies Ovid's point in 279–80: *si niger aut ingens aut non erit ordine natus / dens tibi, ridendo maxima damna feres.* Taking further inspiration from Ovid's reminder in 281 that such things can be taught (*discunt*), the epigram proceeds to offer her some fairly detailed advice on how to cultivate tears. Verses 14–21 thus constitute a concrete illustration of the principle announced at *Ars* 3.291–2: *discunt lacrimare decenter / quoque uolunt plorant tempore quoque modo.* We might say that Martial is setting himself up as *praeceptor maeroris.*[28]

Another Ovidian verse to which scholars have pointed comes in the midst of advice to women on how to regulate their facial expressions in order to attract men.

> Vos quoque si media speculum spectetis in ira,
> cognoscat faciem uix satis ulla suam.
> Nec minus in uultu damnosa superbia uestro:
> comibus est oculis alliciendus Amor.
> Odimus immodicos (experto credite) fastus:
> saepe tacens odii semina uultus habet.
> Spectantem specta: ridenti mollia ride;
> innuet, acceptas tu quoque redde notas.
> Sic ubi prolusit, rudibus puer ille relictis
> spicula de pharetra promit acuta sua.
> Odimus et maestas; Tecmessam diligat Aiax;
> nos, hilarem populum, femina laeta capit.
> Numquam ego te, Andromache, nec te, Tecmessa, rogarem,
> ut mea de uobis altera amica foret;
> credere uix uideor, cum cogar credere partu
> uos ego cum uestris concubuisse uiris.

(Ov. *Ars* 3.507–22)

[27] I thank Stephen Hinds for pointing this out to me.

[28] The phrase, my creation, is inspired by the famous Ovidian self-advertisement *ego sum praeceptor amoris* (*Ars* 1.17).

> If you [women] were to look in the mirror when in the midst of a fit of anger, hardly any of you would recognize your own face. Arrogance is no less destructive in your faces: Love is to be enticed with gracious eyes. We [men] hate excessive haughtiness—believe one who knows from experience—for often a voiceless facial expression contains the seeds of enmity. Look at him if he looks at you; laugh softly if he laughs; if he nods, accept and return the gesture. After such a prelude, the famous boy [Cupid] puts aside his blunt training weapons, and draws a pointed barb from his quiver. We hate sad women as well; let Ajax love Tecmessa. We, a cheerful people, are won over by a happy woman. For my part, I would never ask you, Andromache, or you, Tecmessa, to be my girlfriend. Indeed, I can hardly believe—though the fact that you gave birth compels me to believe it—that you ever went to bed with your husbands.

Here, too, we can easily argue that the passage as a whole functions as a thematic model for Martial's epigram. In both texts, advice to laugh is dispensed to women, the figure of a mournful or weeping woman appears, and Andromache functions as a paradigm.[29] The latter reminds us once again of the shift from didactic to invective mode: Ovid urges women *not* to be as gloomy as Andromache or Tecmessa, while the epigram ironically invokes Andromache and Hecuba as positive examples to be surpassed (13–4 *magis ... quam*); likewise, corresponding to Ovid's remark *odimus et maestas* is Martial's final piece of advice to precisely the opposite effect: *plora si sapis*. And Ovid's disrespectful comment that he cannot believe Andromache ever slept with Hector lends a particularly nasty point to Martial's admonition to Maximina. If she is smart (*si sapis*), she will avoid horrifying men with her smile; yet if she weeps, becoming gloomier even than Andromache, the result may be the same. It seems poor Maximina has little hope of finding a man.

In view of the frequent thematic and linguistic correspondences between the *Ars amatoria* and the *Remedia amoris*, it comes as no surprise to find bad teeth, laughing and crying brought together at one point in Ovid's ironic palinode. What is more surprising is that the passage has not been mentioned in scholarly discussions of Martial 2.41. Here Ovid urges those who wish to free themselves from a ty-

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[29] Tecmessa and Andromache had earlier appeared in the *Ars amatoria* as negative paradigms (3.109–12: do not dress as coarsely as they did!), while Andromache reappears as a paradigm for the anti-erotic at *Rem.* 383–6 (Ovid's own verse is figured as the prostitute Thais and contrasted with Andromache).

rannical mistress to identify and capitalize on her weaknesses so as to place her in an unflattering light.

> Barbara sermone est, fac tecum multa loquatur;
> non didicit chordas tangere, posce lyram.
> Durius incedit, fac inambulet; omne papillae
> pectus habent, uitium fascia nulla tegat.
> Si male dentata est, narra, quod rideat, illi;
> mollibus est oculis, quod fleat illa, refer.
>
> (Ov. *Rem.* 335–40)

> If her language is uncouth, make her speak with you at length. If she never learned to play a stringed instrument, ask for the lyre. If she has a clumsy gait, make her walk. If her breasts are spread out over her whole chest, let no breast-band conceal the flaw. If she has bad teeth, tell her a story that will make her laugh. If she has weak eyes, say something that will make her cry.

To identify this passage as a thematic model for Martial's epigram seems easy enough, and, as with *Ars* 3.291–2, it is tempting to see a single phrase as a seed which has born fruit in Martial's epigram: *si male dentata est, narra, quod rideat, illi* (*Rem.* 339). Ovid's remark to his male readers that if they want to be turned off by a woman with bad teeth, they need only make her laugh becomes the basis of Martial's assault on Maximina. Not only is her smile repulsive, but she is exactly the type of woman Ovid was speaking of in his *Remedia amoris*. Here, too, we see didactic recast as invective, the generic male reader as a named female target. Moreover, reading the epigram against this background reveals some finer touches in Martial's invective technique. Having raised and then by the poem's fifth line rejected (*non dixit tibi*) the possibility of seductive laughter, Martial urges Maximina to weep; Ovid observes that both laughter (*quod rideat*) and weeping (*quod fleat*) are capable of turning men off. Even if she follows Martial's advice to shun laughter (*timere risum*) and embrace tears (*plora*), it seems once again that Maximina has but little hope for success.

I have thus proposed two passages from *Ars amatoria* 3 and one from *Remedia amoris* as thematic models for Martial 2.41. In an instance of "conflation" or "combined reference", each of the three texts makes a specific contribution. The first describes laughter as a means both of seducing and, if a woman has unattractive teeth, of repelling, and at the same time raises the possibility of instruction in the art of

weeping. The second combines the advice to laugh with a citation of Andromache as paradigm for the undesirability of gloomy looks; the third again brings together bad teeth, laughter and weeping, but now describes both laughter and tears as means of killing desire.

We now turn to the question of potential linguistic models for the purported quotation with which Martial's epigram begins. As a matter of principle, there is no reason to expect that such models will *necessarily* be found within the passages just identified as thematic models.[30] The obvious way to begin is to look for a moment in the Ovidian corpus at which the verb *ridere* (preferably the imperative, preferably repeated) is combined with the noun *puella* (preferably in the vocative) and the expression *si sapis*. But a glimpse at a concordance to Ovid, or a search of the PHI disk, quickly reveals that this never happens in our Ovid.[31] We then might look for a passage in which two out of the three elements are present, or in which all three elements are present but somehow rephrased or recast. As it happens, such a search will bring us back to two of the passages cited above.

The lines from the *Remedia amoris* do not seem to include any single textual moment that functions as linguistic model for its opening verse. The only possibility would be v. 339 (*si male dentata est, narra, quod rideat, illi*), yet the lexical overlap between this verse and Mart. 2.41.1 is limited to the verb *ridere*, and there is a significant contrast between Martial's *ride*, addressed to a woman, and Ovid's *narra, quod rideat*, with its third-person *rideat* and imperative *narra* addressed to a man. And of course the desired result of the laughter in the *Remedia amoris* is precisely the opposite of that implicit in Martial's Ovidian quotation.

In the first passage from the *Ars amatoria* discussed above, one couplet has sometimes been cited as the referent of Martial's opening quotation: *si niger aut ingens aut non erit ordine natus / dens tibi, ridendo maxima damna feres* (*Ars* 3.279–80).[32] To be sure, the damage that can be wrought by an unpleasant laugh, especially in the case

[30] Although, as Edmunds 2001, 140 rightly observes, once one has established some kind of sustained relationship between two texts, "the continuous relation between C1 and C2 provokes a heightened alertness for quotations and more intense scrutiny when they appear".

[31] The geminated imperative *ride … ride* (for which see Wills 1996, 91–5) is not found in extant Ovid; for the single imperative *ride*, the vocative *puella*, and the phrase *si sapis*, see below.

[32] Cristante 1990, 181 ("il rinvio più pertinente"), following Zingerle 1877, 5–6.

of a woman with unattractive teeth, is the central theme of 2.41, but the value of this sentence as linguistic model for Martial's *ride si sapis, o puella, ride* is minimal. The lexical overlap between this couplet and Martial's verse is limited to the verb *ridere*, in different forms at that (*ridendo* ~ *ride*), and the juxtaposition of *ridendo* with the negative imagery of *maxima damna feres* stands in revealing contrast to Martial's positively formulated *ride si sapis*. Indeed, Ovid's admonition that in certain cases laughter can be detrimental amounts to precisely the opposite of Martial's Ovidian advice to smile. In short, while this couplet does indeed distill the thematic essence of Martial 2.41 and thus represents an especially intense moment in a passage that functions as thematic model for the epigram (cf. *maxima damna feres* ~ *Maximina*), I would argue that the couplet does not function as linguistic model for the epigram's opening line.

Somewhat more frequently cited by scholars as lying behind Martial's Ovidian quotation is the immediately following couplet: *quis credat? discunt etiam ridere puellae* (3.281). Making the case that this verse serves as linguistic model for Martial's *ride si sapis, o puella, ride* presents some interesting problems. Martial's quotation is structured around the imperative *ride* and vocative *puella*, while the Ovidian phrase is in the third person with *puellae* in the nominative (and plural at that); indeed this marks the moment when the narrator shifts from second person (*feres*) to third (*discunt*). Rather than constituting a piece of advice to laugh, the Ovidian verse is an ironic remark to the effect that, if women want to attract men, among the many things they must learn is laughter. The emphasis is after all more on *discunt* (the verb recurs in 291 and 295–6) than on *ridere*. On the other hand, both the verb *ridere* and the noun *puella* are present in this Ovidian verse, and Martial's *si sapis* might be read in conjunction with Ovid's self-referential *discunt* (they can learn how to laugh, after all, from the couplets that immediately follow): if you are smart, you will take Ovid up on his implicit offer to teach you.[33] In short, the question of whether this Ovidian verse functions as linguistic model for Martial's purported quotation may be best left open; in other words, perhaps

[33] Cf. Cristante 1990, 185: the phrase *si sapis* "presuppone che sia stato capito il precetto ovidiano di *Ars* 3.279–80". Whereas Cristante takes *si sapis* to refer only to that single couplet—which in any case advises *against* laughing—I see a reference to the entire range of Ovidian advice in these passages.

here we have reached the limits of the applicability of the distinction between linguistic and thematic model.

It is easier to argue that a phrase from the second passage discussed above functions as a linguistic model for the epigram's opening verse, and this line is even more often than the preceding cited as lying behind Martial's purported quotation: *ridenti mollia ride* (*Ars* 3.513). Although, as in the case of *Rem.* 339, this shares only one word with Martial's *ride si sapis, o puella, ride*, the fact that this is the imperative *ride*, addressed to a woman, is crucial: the essence of Martial's Ovidian quotation is, after all, the urgent imperative itself.[34] The vocative *puella*, to be sure, finds no correspondent in the Ovidian verse,[35] yet the couplet's insistent imperatives (*specta, ride, redde*) bring the implied addressee very near to the surface, and in accordance with the standard language of Latin elegy most readers will automatically identify her as, precisely, a *puella*. Nor does Martial's *si sapis* have a direct equivalent in *Ars* 3.513,[36] yet the parenthetical *experto credite* in the immediately preceding couplet corresponds to it in sense: if you are smart, you will follow the advice of one who has experience in the matter.

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In view of the considerable influence Ovid's poetry exerted on Martial,[37] it comes as no surprise to find that Ovidian traces in 2.41 are hardly limited to these passages from the *Ars amatoria* and *Remedia amoris*. In *Amores* 3.4, Ovid offers some remarkable advice to a strict husband: you make a mistake in locking up your wife, not only because the lure of the forbidden fruit will only make her more attractive to men (11–32), but because adulterous relationships are now inevita-

[34] This is the only occasion in the extant Ovidian corpus in which the imperative *ride* is addressed to a woman. Addressed to a man it occurs twice, at *Rem.* 494 (*ride, cum tibi flendus eris*) and *Ep.* 19.203 (Hero to Leander: *nec tu mea somnia ride*).

[35] Surprisingly enough, the vocative singular *puella* occurs only once in Ovidian erotodidactic poetry (*Am.* 3.3.48 *aut oculis certe parce, puella, meis*). The vocative plural *puellae* is found five times in the *Ars amatoria.*

[36] While the phrase *si sapis* is not in itself remarkable (it is found, for example, fifteen times in Plautus, seven times in Martial, and four times in Seneca), in Ovid it is attested only on three occasions: see below.

[37] See Zingerle 1877; Siedschlag 1972; Giordano 1996; Pitcher 1998; Szelest 1999; Williams 2002; Hinds forthcoming.

ble in Rome (37–40) and might even be beneficial to you (45–7)! The transition between the last two points is made with these two couplets:

> Quo tibi formosam, si non nisi casta placebat?
> Non possunt ullis ista coire modis.
> *Si sapis*, indulge dominae *uultusque seueros*
> *exue* nec rigidi iura tuere uiri …
>
> (Ov. *Am.* 3.4.41–4)

> What did you want with a beautiful woman if you took pleasure only in a chaste one? The two things never go together. If you're smart, indulge your lady, set aside the grim face, and do not insist on the rights of a strict husband.

When we read these lines with Martial's equally ironic advice to Maximina in mind, the phrases italicized above leap to our eyes. As it happens, in the extant Ovidian corpus the phrase *si sapis* occurs only here and on two other occasions, and *uultus* is modified by the adjective *seuerus* only here.[38] One could, in other words, make the case that the couplet functions as linguistic model for two distinct parts of Martial's epigram: *si sapis* in 1 and *uultus indue tu magis seueros* in 13[39]—with some by now familiar shifts. Just as *exue* becomes *indue*, Ovid's remark to a man that, if he is smart, he will put aside his strict facial expression when dealing with his wife becomes Martial's dismissive remark to a woman that, if she is smart, she will adopt precisely such a facial expression so as not to repel men (including, we may assume, potential husbands). In both cases *si sapis* bears a great deal of ironic weight.

Once our attention has been focused on this couplet from *Amores* 3.4, its predecessor, in which we are told that a woman cannot be both *formosa* and *casta*, takes on further relevance. Our reading of Martial's epigram against an Ovidian backdrop has already brought out the implication that Maximina has little or no hope of finding a hus-

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[38] For *si sapis*, see *Am.* 2.2.9 (interestingly enough, addressed to a eunuch guardian of a woman: *si sapis, o custos, odium, mihi crede, mereri / desine*) and *Rem.* 372 (to the spiteful critic of Ovid's poem: *si sapis, ad numeros exige quidque suos*). Although the combination of *seuerus* and *uultus* is rather infrequently attested in extant Latin literature (a search of the PHI disk yields only Cic. *ad Brut.* 5.2.9; Hor. *Ars* 105–7; Quint. *Inst.* 11.3.159; Stat. *Theb.* 1.88–9; cf. Ter. *Andr.* 857; Cic. *Brut.* 265), it does not seem particularly poetic or otherwise unusual.

[39] The dynamic is something like what Wills 1998 calls "divided allusion", where one and the same word or words function as a model for two distinct moments in a later text.

band. Now a further implication may be brought out: since she is decidedly not *formosa*, she will remain, like it or not, *casta*. And yet since neither adjective appears in Martial's epigram, it seems inappropriate to speak of a linguistic model for any specific lines. In other words, we might describe the couplet *Amores* 3.4.41–2 as constituting a thematic model for the entire epigram.[40]

There also seems to be a specifically Ovidian flavor to the poet's recommendation to Maximina that she trust both his advice and her own mirror: *quod si speculo mihique credis* (8). The juxtaposition of mirrors and unattractive women recurs frequently in Ovid,[41] and as for the specific language of "believing the mirror", a search of the PHI disk for the verb *credere* in conjunction with the noun *speculum* turns up only two passages: the line from Martial's epigram and Ovid's witty apostrophe to Pasiphae as she looks into the mirror hoping to see a cow: *crede tamen speculo, quod te negat esse iuuencam* (*Ars* 1.307).[42] And yet it seems hard to argue for broader and deeper correspondences between the passage on Pasiphae (whose example Ovid cites by way of arguing that women are ultimately easy to entangle in a sexual relationship because they are less able to control their desires) and Martial's invective against Maximina. In the absence of convincing arguments to that effect, it seems inappropriate to speak of a thematic model at work here.

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Taking up the challenge raised by the purported quotation with which Martial 2.41 opens—to look for specific textual moments in Ovid in which a woman is told that if she is smart, she will laugh—I have briefly placed the phenomenon of such identified quotations in the

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[40] *Amores* 3.4 as a whole might be described as a thematic model for such epigrams as 4.71 (what would it mean for a contemporary Roman woman to be *casta*?) and 1.73 (when Caecilianus had placed no kind of restraints over his wife, no one wanted her; but now that he has assigned *custodes* she has become extremely desirable—and this shows how clever Caecilianus is).

[41] See *Met.* 15.232 (*flet quoque, ut in speculo rugas adspexit aniles*); *Am.* 1.14.36 (*quid speculum maesta ponis, inepta, manu?*), 2.17.9 (*scilicet a speculi sumuntur imagine fastus*); *Med.* 47 (*tempus erit, quo uos speculum uidisse pigebit*); *Tr.* 3.7.38 (*et speculum mendax esse querere tuum*).

[42] In his 1977 Oxford commentary on *Ars amatoria* 1, A.S. Hollis simply notes "cf. Mart. 2.41.8".

broader context of Latin allusive practice, and then read both this line and the entire epigram against an Ovidian backdrop. Starting with what seems to be an almost brutally straightforward intertextual gesture ("As Ovid said, I believe …") and proceeding to intertwine various earlier texts on both linguistic and thematic levels, this epigram exemplifies the combination of bluntness, self-awareness, and unexpected complexity which marks so much of Martial's poetry.

21. MARTIAL'S MODES OF MOURNING. SEPULCHRAL EPITAPHS IN THE *EPIGRAMS*

Christer Henriksén

Anyone who reads through the epigrams of Martial that concern themselves with death soon becomes aware of the fact that they show considerable variation in form and theme. Some are poems such as could easily be imagined as cut on a Roman tombstone, others lament or praise a deceased person, comfort the survivors, or give accounts of manners of death that are notable in one way or the other, and still others are rather philosophical, satirical or panegyric in content. All of these will not concern us here; this paper will deal only with epigrams that are occasioned by the death of an individual,[1] and whose purpose it is to treat a certain aspect of death for its own sake. This excludes satirical epigrams involving death, whose main purpose it is to be satirical, death being merely a vehicle of the satire. Excluded, too, are poems whose chief aim it is to praise a person other than the deceased (usually an individual of superior social standing, like a slave's master or the emperor), as well as philosophical reflections involving death that are not occasioned by the death of a certain individual. Basic support for this kind of division may be invoked from the *Greek Anthology*, which generally gathers such epigrams in Book 7, while including, e.g., those of satirical contents among the σκωπτικά of Book 11. The category thus defined I will call *epigrammata sepulcralia*, or "sepulchral epigrams". Within this category, I intend to focus on the epigrams that have the form of a Roman inscription, and which I will call *epitaphia sepulcralia*, or "sepulchral epitaphs". I would like to begin by accounting for my choice of these terms in a general chapter on terminology.

[1] Even though I can offer no cogent proof, I am inclined to say that this individual must be real and not fictitious. An epigram about the death of a fictitious individual would be likely to have another aim (e.g. satirical) than those covered by the present definition.

1. *Terminological considerations*

There has always been a variety of terms, sometimes used in divergent manners, for the various kinds of Greek and Latin literary compositions dealing with death. While Latin seems to have lacked specific native words for dirges and laments, the Greeks had several: θρῆνος, μονῳδία, ἐπικήδειον, νηνία and the funerary speech, ἐπιτάφιος λόγος.[2] Apart, apparently, from μονῳδία,[3] all of these words appear in Latin; *threnus* in the fourth century,[4] *epicedion* towards the end of the first century AD (Stat. *Silv.* 2.*ep.*), *epitaphius* around the middle of the last century BC (see below). Mostly, there seems to have been no clear definitions of what discriminated a θρῆνος from a μονῳδία or an ἐπικήδειον, and there seems to have been no particular term for sepulchral inscriptions, other than the general *titulus* and ἐπίγραμμα.

To some extent, this terminological diversity still lingers as a potential source of confusion, warranting, I hope, the following reflections on the question of terminology. It should be noted that what is said below applies first and foremost to the Latin epigram, and may not be fully applicable to the Hellenistic, the study of which falls beyond the scope of the present paper.

1.1. *The genre as a whole*

Book 7 of the *Greek Anthology*, the contents of which basically correspond to the type of epigram discussed here, bears the heading ἐπιτύμβια (*scil.* ἐπιγράμματα), i.e. "epigrams on (that is "on", not "about") tombs". This translates as *sepulcralia* in Latin, a term sometimes applied in contemporary scholarship. However, ἐπιτύμβια as well as *sepulcralia* stresses the tomb itself (τύμβος/*sepulcrum*), which is unfortunate, both because it is suggestive of epigrams immediately connected with tombs, viz. such as are found in sepulchral inscriptions, and because many of the epigrams in question really have nothing to do with the tombs themselves. As an overall term, *sepulcralia* is

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[2] ἐλεγεῖον in the sense of "lament" first occurs in Pausanias (*LSJ* s.v., II.2). For νηνία, see Cic. *Leg.* 2.62 and *LSJ* s.v.

[3] μονῳδία occurs in late Latin, but not in this sense; *TLL* s.v. *monodia*, 1424.53–8.

[4] Auson. 11.5.3, 7.4, 14.5, 21.3 Green.

therefore deceptive. The same is true about the term *funeraria*, which puts emphasis on the funeral (*funus*).

As a matter of fact, though, it is extremely hard to find a comprehensive term for these epigrams, one that neither focuses on nor excludes any particular subsection of the genre. One possibility would be the adjective *feralis*, which, in its primary sense, has the advantage of not entailing any specific connotations to a certain aspect of death.[5] However, from the time of Augustus, this word also developed the active meaning of "mortal", "lethal",[6] which gives it a feel that is unfortunate in the present context. For this reason, and because it is a more or less established term, I will use the word *sepulcralia* in this paper, reminding the reader that it is used generally of the genre as a whole, not specifically of epigrams on tombs.

1.2. *The subdivisions*

The *sepulcralia* show a number of subdivisions, which, from antiquity until the present day, have always lacked a consistent terminology. The more constructive efforts in creating one are those by Rudolf Schmoock and Joseph Mantke, who both based their division on the form of the epigrams. Schmoock discerned three types,[7] viz. epigrams that have the form of an inscription, epigrams fashioned in the form of an inscription but not preserving this form throughout,[8] and epigrams that are "free from" the form of an inscription. Mantke distinguished two kinds of sepulchral poetry, on the one hand those, that take on the form of an inscription and that could be cut onto a tombstone, on the other those, that show no or hardly any trace of the epigraphical mould.[9] The latter he calls *epicedia*, the former *epitaphia*.[10]

5 *TLL* s.v., 485.41–486.42 ("ad mortuos et inferos pertinens").

6 *TLL* s.v., 486.43–487.65 ("mortem portendens, mortifer, dirus, immanis").

7 See the "tabula argumenti" in Schmoock 1911, 5.

8 This type, to which Schmoock counts Mart. 7.40, 10.71 and 12.52, according to my definition consists of poems that are either not *sepulcralia* at all (7.40, 10.71), or that belong to the type that I have called "non-epitaphs" (12.52); see below.

9 Mantke 1966, 21. Other discussions of the epigrams of Martial that involve death (Hofmann 1956–7 and Johnson 1953–4) have not been particularly successful in categorising them.

10 As a precaution, Mantke adds the German term "Klagedichte" to the *epicedia*. Prinz (1911, 17) does not categorise the *sepulcralia* as a whole, but discusses only the epigrams, "welche die Form der Grabinschrift aufweisen"; see further below.

Essentially, I agree with Mantke; the most basic division that can be made of the *sepulcralia* is a division into epigrams that have the form of a sepulchral inscription (I shall return shortly to the characteristics of this subsection), and those that have not. But are *epitaphia* and *epicedia* passable terms for these subsections? This may be answered by a brief recapitulation of the historical and contemporaneous use of the two words.

The Greek adjective ἐπιτάφιος refers to something that is connected to a funeral or to a tomb (τάφος being capable of both meanings). As a literary or oral composition, it occurs in the designation of the funerary speech, ἐπιτάφιος λόγος. With one possible exception, all instances of the word in classical Latin refer to this kind of speech.[11] However, by the fourth century, *epitaphium* had developed into a Latin noun capable of exactly the same meaning as its English offshoot "epitaph";[12] I quote here the definition of the *Oxford English Dictionary*: "An inscription upon a tomb. Hence, occasionally, a brief composition characterizing a deceased person, and expressed as if intended to be inscribed on his tombstone." Historically, then, there has been a minimum of confusion regarding the meaning of *epitaphium*, and as it conveys to modern readers a clear idea of the phenomenon to which it refers, it is justified to keep the term "epitaph" for the one of the subsections of the *sepulcralia*.

In the case of *epicedion*, the situation is different. The basis for the word is the Greek adjective ἐπικήδειος, meaning "of or at a burial, funeral", κῆδος being "funerary rites" or "mourning". Substantivized (τὸ ἐπικήδειον), the word was used in antiquity in the sense of "dirge", and sometimes contrasted with other types of funerary compositions;

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[11] Cic. *Tusc*. 5.36 (with reference to Plato's dialogue *Menexenus*); Sen. *Suas*. 6.21; Quint. *Inst*. 3.4.4. The possible exception occurs in a section from Varro's *Menippean Satires* quoted by Nonius Marcellinus (Var. *Men*. 109–10 = Non. p. 416.18–21 and 102.5–6). For various reasons, I find this somewhat doubtful.

[12] Ausonius offers the first clear instance in the short preface to his *Epitaphia heroum* (Auson. 12.*pr*. Green), but is not until about two hundred years later that Isidorus of Seville provides the first clear definition of the Latin *epitaphium*: *Epitaphium Graece, Latine supra tumulum. Est enim titulus mortuorum, qui in dormitione eorum fit, qui iam defuncti sunt* ("In Greek, they say 'epitaphium', in Latin 'on the tomb'. For it is an inscription of the dead, which is set up on the resting-place of those who are already dead"; Isid. *Orig*. 1.39.20). Interesting, though somewhat obscurely put, is Servius' comment on *Eclogues* 5.14; contrasting *epicedion* with *epitaphion*, he uses the verb *dicitur* with both; cf. Schol. Hor. *Carm*. 2.1.38; see further *TLL* s.v. *epitaphium*, 687.22–60).

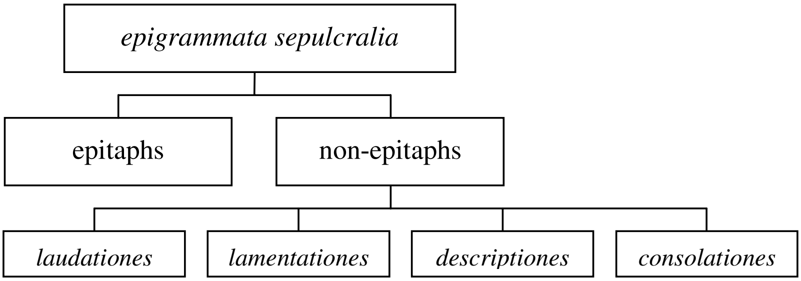
thus with *epitaphium* by Servius (note 12 above), and, according to *LSJ* s.v., with θρῆνος by Ptolemaeus Ascalonita. However, there has always been a certain confusion as to what kind of composition an *epicedion* actually was, and it came to be applied to highly diverging types; for instance, in the time of Martial, it was used by Statius of his elaborate and lengthy hexameter poems on the death of Glaucias and others, and by Plutarch of the single distich on Pindar, ascribed to Leonidas and included in Book 7 of the *Greek Anthology*.[13] This vagueness has persisted in the modern languages that have adopted the word; the *OED*, for instance, defines “epicedium” simply as “A funeral ode”. This is a definition wide enough to include even certain metrical epitaphs, at the same time—if we accept *OED*’s definition as “a funeral ode” and Mantke’s paraphrase as “Klagegedicht”—being too narrow to comprise such epigrams as are written for the sake of consolation. For this reason, the word *epicedion* is not suitable as a term to be used in the present context. But as a comprehensive label for the epigrams that cannot be referred to as epitaphs does not exist, I will refer to these as “non-epitaphs”, because, in practice, a division of the *sepulcralia* into epitaphs and epicedia is really nothing more than a division into epigrams that are epitaphs and epigrams that are not.

Unlike the epitaphs, though, the non-epitaphs show some variety in purpose.[14] Further categorisation is therefore desirable. It is necessary now to move from the principle of classification according to form to classification according to content, and, on the next level, distribute the non-epitaphs into further subdivisions corresponding to their respective purposes. As the study of the non-epitaph is not the aim of this paper, it will not venture very deeply into defining and labelling its subsections; as a mere suggestion, though, I think that the non-epitaphs could be categorised roughly according to the subdivisions of the Hellenistic and Roman “epicedion” as analysed by Esteve-Forriol, viz. as *laudationes*, *lamentationes*, *descriptiones* of *morbi*, *mortis* or

[13] Plu. *Moralia* 1030a; *AP* 7.35.

[14] It is true that the epitaphs can be either purely literary or cut (or intended to be cut) on a tombstone, but unlike the non-epitaphs, this is a variation in outer purpose, not in inner. R.F. Thomas chose to refer to these two types as “functional” and “literary”, “to distinguish epigrams that are destined for epigraphical ends from those that at best only pose as doing so” (Thomas 1998, 205). As Thomas acknowledges, it is often hard to tell the difference, not to say impossible; for this reason, I prefer to refer to all epitaphs in the works of the literary poets as “literary”, and to those that have actually been cut in stone as “epigraphic”.

sepulcri and *consolationes*,[15] with the possible addition of one or two categories if desirable. While further work on a classification of the non-epitaphs would certainly be welcome, I would like to summarise the proposals made above in the following graph:



In the following, I intend to single out the poems among Martial's *sepulcralia* that qualify as epitaphs, that is to say those poems that focus on "a deceased person" and that are "expressed as if intended to be inscribed on his tombstone" (to restate the *OED* definition). Being both sepulchral epigrams and epitaphs, such poems may be labelled *epitaphia sepulcralia*. The defining factor is the epigraphic sepulchral inscription, as important characteristics of which the following features may be mentioned: deixis, name and status of the deceased, age at death, biographical information, and the use of various formulas and conventional motifs (apostrophe to the reader or "passer-by", phrases like *sit tibi terra leuis*, etc.). What exactly is implied by each of these features, I will expound below as I examine Martial's epitaphs. The presence of one or two of them in a poem does not necessarily mean that that poem is an epitaph, but some, like the deixis, are no doubt more cogent then others. Vice versa, I think it may safely be stated that a poem that lacks all of the characteristics listed above is not an epitaph.

Finally, I would like to stress that epitaphs do not occur only within the genre of *sepulcralia*, but may theoretically appear in any kind of epigram; for instance, Martial offers many famous instances of scoptic epitaphs. It should also be emphasised that there is no sharp dividing

[15] Esteve-Forriol 1962, 113.

line as regards the contents of the epitaphs and the non-epitaphs, as several of the topics of the latter spill over into the former.

Before I turn to Martial, though, I would like to make some general remarks on the Latin verse epitaph.

2. *The Latin verse epitaph*

The epigraphic verse epitaph in Latin is traceable back to the inscription in six saturnians on the sarcophagus of L. Scipio Barbatus, the consul of 298 BC (*CIL* 1^2.7 = *CLE* 7), but there is no reason to suppose that such epitaphs in saturnians did not exist earlier than this; when it comes to inscriptions, what is preserved and then found is subject to chance even in higher degree than is the case with literary works. In literature, though, the first author whose name can be attached to what may be called a sepulchral epigram is Naevius, whose self-composed epitaph, together with those of Plautus and Pacuvius, is preserved by Gellius (1.24). The first author to take the important step of abandoning the saturnians and iambic metres in favour of the elegiac couplet was very likely Ennius, naturally acting under the influence of Greek literature, in which the literary epitaph was already fully developed. All that now remains of Ennius' epigrams are five distichs from epitaphs of Scipio Africanus (died 184 BC) and of the author himself. The inscriptions followed; the earliest known epigraphic epitaph in elegiac metre is that of Cn. Cornelius Scipio Hispanus, the praetor of 139 BC (*CIL* 1^2.15 = *CLE* 958).[16]

Accordingly, there are not a great many Latin verse epitaphs, whether literary or epigraphic,[17] that can be dated to the Republican period. But towards the end of the first century BC, there was a profound change in the so-called Roman epigraphic habit, the most tangible result of which was that the number of virtually all kinds of inscriptions multiplied greatly; the development has even been described as an "epigraphic explosion".[18] In the case of epitaphs, this meant not only that it became increasingly more common to com-

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16 Massaro 1992, 38–40.

17 Apart from the literary instances mentioned above, there is the fragment (unless this is actually the whole poem) of Lucilius' epitaph for his slave Metrophanes (22.579–80 Marx), quoted by Donatus on Ter. *Ph.* 287 and by Martial (11.90.4, only the pentameter). In Catullus, there are no poems that qualify as epitaphs.

18 Bodel 2001, 7.

memorate the dead on tombstones, but also that more and more people chose to provide the epitaphs for their dead the form of a poem; and gradually, the iambic senarius, which had predominated the early epitaphs, began to lose ground to dactylic metres. In this last respect, the influence of the verse masters of the Augustan era can really not be overestimated. It was primarily not a question of imitating the at any rate comparatively few epitaphs of Virgil, Tibullus, Propertius, Lygdamus and Ovid, even though this was naturally done.[19] Rather, the important thing was that the Romans now had the best native models for how to express themselves in hexameter and distich. It is the brilliant verse handling of the Augustan poets that echoes in the metric epitaphs of early imperial Rome; considerable lists have been made of metrical borrowings in the inscriptions.[20] This, though, was a flow of influence that was largely unidirectional. Writing epitaphs, Tibullus, Propertius and Ovid certainly had models in earlier Latin and particularly in Hellenistic literature, but their borrowings from the phraseology and formulaic language of *carmina epigraphica* was indeed very limited.[21]

When Martial came to Rome in the middle of the sixties (if we can trust his statement in Book 10),[22] this development had been going on for well over three quarters of a century, and the epigraphic face of the city was very different from that which was familiar to Tibullus and Propertius. Outside the city gates, every major road leading into the city was lined with tombs with their epitaphs cut, not in the tufa of Rome itself or in the travertine of the nearby Tibur, but in increasing degree in Luna marble, the stone used in many of Augustus' monumental buildings erected in the city. In increasing degree, too, these epitaphs spoke to the passer-by in dactylic verse, often of very good quality, often acceptable, sometimes bad, occasionally remarkably

[19] The epitaphs (in several cases parts of epitaphs) in question are found in Tib. 1.3.55–6; Prop. 2.13.35–6; Lygd. 3.2.29–30; Ov. *Tr.* 3.3.73–6 and Don. *Vita Verg.* p. 8; see Schmidt 1985. In this context, as often, we can but regret the almost complete loss of the works of those early imperial authors, whom Martial mentions as his Latin forerunners in the epigrammatic genre (see Mart. 1.*ep.*). In the 22 lines preserved from Domitius Marsus, though, there is both an epitaph for Augustus' mother Atia (Dom. Mars. *Epigr. Bob.* 9.1–2) and an epigram about the obviously nearly contemporaneous deaths of Virgil and Tibullus (Dom. Mars. *Carm.* fr. 1–4); the latter, clearly a non-epitaph, may perhaps be considered a *lamentatio*.

[20] See particularly Lissberger 1934 and Hoogma 1959.

[21] By the term *carmina epigraphica*, I understand inscriptions in verse.

[22] See 10.103.7 and 104.10.

original in expression but nearly always with an unmistakeable tinge of Augustan versification.

3. *The epitaphs of Martial*

As a writer of epitaphs, then, Martial had a much richer source to draw from than any of his predecessors. Depending on how an epitaph is defined, there are between nine and fifteen poems in Martial's corpus that may be regarded as such. The higher number originates from Karl Prinz, though it is true that he does not refer to these poems as "epitaphs", but as epigrams that show the form of a sepulchral inscription.[23] Schmoock excludes five poems from Prinz's list and adds two, producing a list of twelve poems.[24] If, however, we count only those epigrams that qualify both as epitaphs and as *epigrammata sepulcralia* according to the definition proposed in this paper, the number is reduced to nine poems, viz. 1.116, epitaph of Faenia Antulla, 6.28 of Glaucias, freedman of Atedius Melior, 6.52 of the barber Panthagatus, 7.96 on Urbicus the son of Bassus, 10.53 on the charioteer Scorpus, 10.61 on Erotion, 11.13 on the pantomime Paris, 11.69 on Lydia the hunting dog (but see below), and 11.91 on the slave-girl Canace. In the case of the eight epigrams about which I differ either from Schmoock, from Prinz or from both, I have excluded some because they are non-epitaphs rather than epitaphs, others because they do not belong with the *sepulcralia*, but are either eulogies of persons other than the deceased or first and foremost satirical epigrams.[25]

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[23] Prinz 1911, 17. Prinz's list includes the following epigrams: 1.116, 6.18, 6.28, 6.52, 6.76, 7.40, 7.96, 10.53, 10.61, 10.63, 10.67, 10.71, 11.13, 11.69, 11.91.

[24] Schmoock's list is as follows: 1.114, 1.116, 5.34, 6.28, 6.52, 6.76, 7.96, 10.53, 10.61, 11.13, 11.69, 11.91; this list won the approval of Otto Weinrich (1941, 3, n. 1). Mantke has no such list, as he concentrates on the *sepulcralia* of Martial that are not in the form of an inscription (Mantke 1966, 21).

[25] *Sepulcralia*, but non-epitaphs: 1.114 (*descriptio sepulcri*); 5.34 and 6.18 (*consolationes*). Not *sepulcralia*, but epitaphs: 6.76 (imperial panegyric; see Grewing 1997, 489); 7.40 and 10.71 (eulogies of Claudius Etruscus and of Rabirius respectively); 10.63 and 10.67 (satirical).

3.1. *The epigraphic character of Martial's epitaphs*

For the rest of this paper, I will focus only on the remaining nine poems, which, according to my definition, are both *sepulcralia* and epitaphs. These constitute a closely connected group. Common to them is, primarily, the fact that they have no other purpose than being epitaphs, that is, they concentrate on the deceased individual, and do so simply because that individual is deceased. Taken together, these epigrams irrefutably show that in writing epitaphs, Martial primarily adapted himself not to his literary predecessors, but to the *carmina epigraphica* of the tombstones. To illustrate the epigraphic character of the poems in question, I would like to point out a few details.

To begin with, the speaker in Martial's epitaphs is either the deceased or else anonymous, whereas the addressee is always anonymous. This is completely in line with the *carmina epigraphica*, although these sometimes address also the deceased or surviving family members.[26] The metre is the elegiac distich, with the exception of 6.28 and 11.13, which are in hendecasyllables; the absence of choliambics is characteristic Again, we may compare the *carmina epigraphica*, which in Bücheler's and Lommatzsch's edition give 744 poems in elegiacs, eighteen in hendecasyllables and a mere five in choliambics.

Furthermore, Martial's epitaphs adhere closely to an epigraphic scheme, all of them including at least three of the characteristics listed under 1.2. above, as follows:

Deixis. This is the indication of the burial plot, which may take various expressions, the most simple being the adverb *hic* (frequently followed by *iacet*, *situs est*, etc.) and various models involving the ablative of place, like *in hoc tumulo*, *sub hoc marmore*, etc. It is lacking only in 10.53 and 11.69.[27]

Name of the deceased. The name is found in all epigrams; in each case, only one name is used, also in the cases of those who, being freed or freeborn, in fact had more than one name (viz. Faenia Antulla

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26 Tolman 1910, 2–8.

27 Deixis: 1.116.1–4 *Hoc nemus aeterno cinerum sacrauit honori / Faenius et culti iugera pulchra soli. / Hoc tegitur cito rapta suis Antulla sepulchro, / hoc erit Antullae mixtus uterque parens* (unusually extensive and intertwined, like in the following instances, with the name of the deceased and with a reference in lines 1–2 to formulas of the type *pater fecit*); 6.28.4–5, 6.52.1–2, 7.96.1, 10.61.1, 11.13.1, 11.91.1; see further Tolman 1910, 23–5.

in 1.116 and Atedius Glaucias in 6.28). In epigraphic verse epitaphs, the inclusion of the full name was much more important, but due to the difficulty of fitting a complete name into the verse, it is usually not given inside the verses themselves, but rather in a prose heading. If the name is repeated in the poem (as is often the case), the *carmina epigraphica* agree with Martial in usually applying only one name.

Indication of the age at death. An indication of the age is missing only in 11.13, the epitaph for Paris, whose age at death we do not know. The other epigrams either give the exact age,[28] or indicate, through standard formulas, that the subject died prematurely.[29] It is noteworthy, that in circumscribing the number of years, Martial does not use the prosaic *anni*, to which the inscriptions tend to cling,[30] but the more poetical *messis*, *trieteris* and *hiems*. While there is no reason to suppose influence from Martial on the isolated instances of seasons that occur in the inscriptions in this context,[31] his use of *trieteris* in 10.53.3 may be the direct source of *CIL* 3.8376a.1–2 (= *CLE* 539, from Dalmatia) *raptus trieteride / sexta* ("snatched away in his sixth three-year span"); see further below.

Status of the deceased. This was much less important in literary epitaphs than in their epigraphic counterparts, which frequently give the status, according to Roman practice, as part of the name.[32] Thus, Martial does not usually indicate status explicitly, the sole instance being the phrase *libertus Melioris* used of Glaucias in 6.28.1, which may just as much be a way to honour Atedius Melior. However, the status of the subjects can sometimes be gathered from phrases not necessarily intended to serve this purpose. In 1.116, the poet evidently speaks of a family tomb established by Faenius on the death of his daughter Antulla, in which her ashes in time will be mingled with those of her father and mother. Faenius is mentioned by his gen-

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[28] 6.28.8–9 *Bis senis modo messibus peractis / uix unum puer adplicabat annum*; 7.96.3, 10.53.3, 10.61.2, 11.91.2.

[29] 1.116.3 and 11.69.11 *cito rapta*; 6.52.1 *raptus puerilibus annis*.

[30] Epigraphic epitaphs in verse always had the possibility of stating the age in the prose heading, usually in the phrase *uixit annis … mensibus … diebus*, and so did not necessarily have to bother with expressing it in the verses themselves. Nevertheless, they often (with varying degrees of success) try to fit it into the poem; cf. Tolman 1910, 19.

[31] Thus *ICUR* 1.710 (= *CLE* 1355, AD 442); *CIL* 8.11597.2–3.

[32] Status as freeborn was indicated by filiation (*M. Tullius M(arci) f(ilius) Cicero*), as freedman/-woman by phrases of the type *M(arci) lib(ertus/a)*.

tilicium and was consequently not a slave, but freeborn or a freedman; besides, a family tomb would not have been founded by a slave. Reasonably, then, Antulla was also freeborn. The reference to his *dominus* in 6.52 puts Panthagatus down as a slave, and the word *genus* in 7.96 shows that Urbicus was the freeborn son of Bassus. I think, too, that the "maternal filiation" *Aeolidos* ("daughter of Aeolis") of Canace in 11.91.1 indicates that she was not born in a *iustum matrimonium*, and most likely that both mother and daughter were slaves. Such informal "maternal filiation" would really only make sense for a child born of a slave mother, because to children born in *contubernia*, the Roman *ius gentium* (cf. Gaius *Inst.* 1.80 and 82) accredited the status of the mother, regardless of whether the father was freeborn, a freedman or a slave himself. This means, that if the mother was a slave, so was the child, and any kind of official filiation impossible; this is probably the case here. If the mother was free, but not the father, the child would also be free, and could theoretically have filiation based on the praenomen of his or her maternal grandfather.

Biographical information. In the present context, a "biography" means the briefest possible characterisation of the deceased, usually a simple enumeration of skills and physical assets, often also asserting that the deceased was well loved. A typical example is Martial's characterisation of Glaucias in 6.28.6–7. Biographies of this kind are found in all epitaphs except those to Antulla, Erotion and Canace.[33]

Formulas and conventional motifs. Epigraphic epitaphs possess a set of formulas, themes and sentiments that may count as distinguishing qualities for the *epitaphia sepulcralia*. Here, I must confine myself to pointing out some of these as they occur in Martial's epitaphs, while referring the reader to Lattimore and Tolman for further instances.[34] The apostrophe to the reader or passer-by, in its most basic form, simply asks him to stop and read the inscription,[35] but it may also express a request for the reader to show pity, shed tears, etc. In return for compliance with such requests, the epitaph often expresses

[33] 6.28.2–3 *tota qui cecidit dolente Roma, / cari deliciae breues patroni* and 6–7 *castus moribus, integer pudore, / uelox ingenio, decore felix*; 6.52.2–4; 7.96.2 and 5; 10.53.1–2 and 4; 11.13.3–6, 69.1–6. See further Lattimore 1942, 266–300 (biographical themes).

[34] Lattimore 1942, 65–74 and 82–6; a good survey may be had by skimming through the table of contents in Tolman 1910, vii–ix.

[35] As an instance may serve *CIL* 14.2605.3–4 *te rogo praeteriens fac / mora et perlege ursus* (sic).

its good wishes to the reader.[36] Such plain instances are found in Martial's 11.13 and 7.96;[37] in 11.91, the reader is asked not to cry (though for reasons quite other than the usual).[38] In 10.61, the reader—or imagined future proprietor of the burial plot—is asked to offer yearly sacrifices at the tomb; an inscription from Moesia provides a good parallel.[39] In return for compliance, the epitaph expresses its good wishes to the reader in 6.28, 10.61 (wish for no sorrows to befall him) and 7.96 (wish for his children to survive him). 6.52 offers a variant of the formula *sit tibi terra leuis*,[40] the hallmark of Latin inscriptions, and reproaches to envious Fate are found in 7.96, 10.53 and 11.91.[41] Particularly notable is the reference in 1.116.5–6 to such prosaic a thing as the prohibition against selling a burial plot or in any way alienating it from the family buried on it. Such regulations were usually drawn up in dry-as-dust prose parts in the inscription, lengthier and more elaborate in the second century than would have been the case in Martial's day. As a matter of fact, though, there are rare occasions when even the inscriptions express such prohibitions in verse; one such instance is found in *CIL* 12.3619.3–5 (= *CLE* 579).[42]

Finally, while all of this belongs to the standard set in epigraphic epitaphs, there are some elements in Martial's epitaphs that do not. This concerns the *descriptiones morbi et mortis* found in 11.69 and 91,[43] and, above all, the theme of heroic death which concludes 11.69 (11–2). Indeed, there is a section of *mortes singulares* in *ILS*, but this contains only 31 inscriptions (nos. 8499–530), and none with such a detailed description of the course of the disease as in 11.91. In 11.69, the description of Lydia's manner of death comes out as more justified, leading up as it does to the statement of the glory of her demise (but see below on this poem).

[36] Lattimore 1942, 230–7.

[37] 11.13.1–2 *Quisquis Flaminiam teris, uiator, / noli nobile praeterire marmor*; 7.96.6–8.

[38] 11.91.4–5 *non licet hic uitae de breuitate queri: / tristius est leto leti genus.*

[39] *CIL* 3.754.19–21 (= *CLE* 492; postdates Antoninus Pius).

[40] 6.52.5–6 *Sis licet, ut debes, tellus, placata leuisque, / artificis leuior non potes esse manu.*

[41] 7.96.4 *ruperunt tetricae cum male pensa deae*; 10.53.3; 11.91.9–12.

[42] *qui dominus fuerit huius / uendere ne liceat caueo adque rogo per numina diuom. / Vendere si uelit, emptorem littera prohibet*; instances of the commoner variants in prose are, e.g., *ILS* 8269.10–1 and *CIL* 6.22083.3–7.

[43] 11.69.7–10 (*descriptio mortis*), 91.5–8 (*descriptio morbi et mortis*).

It is noteworthy, too, that six of these nine poems are written for people who died very young; some are children of friends, others slaves of patrons or, in the case of Erotion, of Martial himself. This focus on the prematurely dead actually pervades Martial's *epigrammata sepulcralia* as a whole, just as it is an important feature of the *carmina epigraphica*.[44] But especially noteworthy is the emphasis on the death of young slaves, as they bear witness to a change in relationship, on a personal level, between slave and master that took place from the late Republic and during the first century AD under the influence of philanthropic *humanitas*. I cannot go further into this subject here, but must refer to Citroni's introduction to 1.88 for a fuller analysis.[45]

3.2. *Verbal coincidences between Martial's epitaphs and the epitaphs of inscriptions*

While there is no question that Martial related in much higher degree to contemporary epigraphic epitaphs than virtually any other literary Latin poet, there are actually few exact verbal coincidences between Martial's epitaphs and the *carmina epigraphica*. This fact, combined with the adherence to the epigraphic scheme just described, shows that the epigraphic character on Martial's part is not attained by verbatim quotations from tombstones, but by repeating the statements of the stones in his own original wording; this, of course, is what can be expected from a truly talented poet, and a point that separates him from the general verse-mongers, who certainly produced a good number of the *carmina epigraphica*.

What, then, can be made of the verbal similarities that do exist? Even though the majority of sepulchral inscriptions probably date from the second and third centuries, they can very seldom be precisely dated, and so it is hard to be sure about who is imitating whom. We can, perhaps, experiment with geographical criteria to some extent, i.e. if a line in an epitaph of Martial shows similarity to a line in an inscription from, say, Egypt or Britain, it seems reasonable to assume that Martial has influenced the inscription rather than vice versa, since

[44] See Lattimore 1942, §§ 48 ("The Untimely Dead"), 49 ("Children Buried by Parents"), 50 ("Death Before Marriage") and 51 ("The Flower of Life").
[45] Citroni 1975, 271–3.

as far as we know, Martial never visited Egypt or Britain. But such arguments are naturally not conclusive, since the same line may have appeared in an inscription in Italy or Spain that Martial may well have seen, but which happens not to be preserved. The occurrence of a certain line in a certain province does not mean that it originated in that province. It may have migrated there from Rome with the family of a soldier or magistrate.

Illustrative is the Dalmatian inscription *CIL* 3.8376a (quoted above), which in its first line contains what may be an influence from Martial's epitaph of Scorpus. The direction of influence in this case may appear to be rather clear, as there is absolutely nothing that would indicate that Martial had been to Dalmatia and seen the inscription, but it is still open to the objection posed in the preceding paragraph.

Another instance, which is actually rather striking, involves the phrase *cito raptus*, which Martial uses to indicate premature death in 1.116.3 (following the trithemimeres) and 11.69.11 (following the hephthemimeres). This phrase is easily regarded as belonging to the stock vocabulary of epigraphic epitaphs, and, perhaps, as a generally common epithet of the untimely dead also in literature. As a matter of fact, though, apart from one instance in Publilius Syrus (which may be left out of account here),[46] the sole literary instances are from Martial.[47] I know of seven inscriptions in which the phrase occurs. All of these are in dactylic verse, four from the city of Rome,[48] one from Spoletium,[49] one from Aquincum in Pannonia inferior,[50] and one from Salonae in Dalmatia;[51] four, probably five, occur in the same metrical position as in Martial's epitaphs, and two are dateable from the text itself, in both cases well after the time of Martial.[52] In this case, the direction of influence is an open question; as the phrase is attested in inscriptions from Rome, these inscriptions may have served both as a

46 The context in Publilius Syrus (D 15 *Dies quod donat timeas: cito raptum uenit*) is not sepulchral.

47 Apart from the two epigrams mentioned, it occurs also in 3.2.3, which is in hendecasyllabics, and neither *sepulcrale* nor epitaph.

48 *CIL* 6.10131.6 (= *CLE* 1282), 14578.9 (= *CLE* 502), 17518.2 and 25871.7–8 (= *CLE* 1219).

49 *CIL* 11.4969.1–2.

50 *CIL* 3.10501.4 (= *CLE* 489).

51 *CIL* 3.9613.1–2 (= *CLE* 751).

52 *CIL* 11.4969.6–8, consular dating to AD 300 or 343; *CIL* 3.10501 probably postdates Antoninus Pius, because of the name T. Ael(ius) Iustus in lines 9–10 (indicating a freedman or a descendant of a freedman of this emperor).

source for Martial and for those outside of Rome. While determining which is actually the case here is impossible, the immediate connection between Martial and the inscriptions is irrefutable. A similar case is provided by the opening line of 6.52, *Hoc iacet in tumulo*, which appears in six verse inscriptions from Rome and other parts of Italy (one from Pannonia inferior).[53] This list can be made somewhat longer, but as these instances suffice to prove my point, and owing to considerations of space, I will not give further examples here.[54]

4. *Martial's epitaphs as inscriptions*

Who composed the epitaphs in the Roman inscriptions? We very rarely know, as they hardly ever reveal this kind of information, and in the scarce instances that do, the name of the author does not tell us anything. A typical example is *CIL* 14.2605, found at Tusculum but perhaps of urban origin: *Dis Manibus / M. Publici M. lib. Vnionis / Te rogo praeteriens fac / mora et perlege ursus* (sic) *quos ego / dictaui et iussi scribere quendam.*[55] Like Publicius Unio, there were undoubtedly many others who took what they remembered from their school Virgil and wrote—or dictated—epitaphs for themselves and for family members, often producing verses that do not scan and that sometimes would be unrecognisable as verse, were it not for the sudden inclusion of a verse ending from the classics. But there are also epitaphs that are really good, and that must have been composed by a person who was not only well versed in metrics and well read in the works of the great poets, but who was also in possession of considerable poetic talent.

There is no real reason to doubt, I think, that Martial himself wrote such epitaphs to order; most of the nine poems discussed here could very well have been cut in a piece of marble and set up along the Via

[53] *CIL* 3.3351.1 (= *CLE* 556, third century AD); 5.1623.7–8 (= *CLE* 1350, AD 423); 6.17104.3–4 (= *CLE* 1115); 6.19055.1 (= *CLE* 495); 10.5958.2 (= *CLE* 596); 14.3869.1–2 (= *CLE* 1758).

[54] A convincing case for influence from Martial on the epigraphic epitaph of the charioteer Eutyches (*CIL* 2.4314) has been made in Piernavieja 1970; in Piernavieja 1972, the author claims that the *carmen* of *CIL* 2.4314 is actually by Martial. For questions of intertextuality between the inscriptions and Martial (not only his epitaphs), see Cugusi 1982, 99–100; 1996, 190–4, 359–60.

[55] "To the blessed memory of M. Publicius Unio, freedman of Marcus. I ask you, passer-by, that you stop and read through the verses, which I have dictated and commissioned a person to write down"; *CIL* 14.2605.1–5.

Appia. Thus arises the question whether Martial wrote any of these poems on commission or with the intention that they should be cut in stone. This, obviously, is a question that is impossible to answer.[56] I would like to exclude one poem from this possibility, however, viz. 11.69, epitaph of Lydia the hunting dog. In fact, I am in doubt as to whether it should be included among the *sepulcralia* at all. I see this poem primarily as a pendant to 7.27, a poem about a boar so huge that the speaker doubts his cook will be able to prepare it; the boar is presented as having been slain and given to him by one Dexter. It was certainly Martial's intention that the reader should link 7.27 to 11.69 on the hound Lydia,[57] which has now been killed, pierced by the tusks of a boar; the dog that—we may suppose—brought down the boar has now itself been brought down by a boar. The interpretation of this epigrammatical interaction falls outside the scope of this paper.[58] But in my view, the light-hearted and slightly ridiculous tone of 7.27 goes well with the absurd loftiness of 11.69, in which Martial lays the mythological allusions on thick, and which ends in the account of the heroic death of its subject, a theme that virtually does not exist in Latin epitaphs,[59] and may be felt to be quite ludicrous when applied to a dog; perhaps Martial is making fun here of animal epitaphs.[60] Thus, as I am unsure of the purpose of 11.69, I am reluctant to include it among the *sepulcralia*. In any case, an epitaph that seems to have its given place in Martial's corpus and that apparently is dependent on interaction with another poem (even in another book) for its interpretation is hardly likely to have been intended for incision on a tombstone.

It is possible that 11.13 (epitaph of Paris) could also be regarded as a purely literary piece. The fact that we know that Paris was murdered in 82 or 83, thirteen years before this epigram was published in Mar-

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[56] Prinz 1911, 18, answers in the negative; contrast Weinreich 1941, 3, n. 1.

[57] The Dexters of 7.27 and 11.69 are connected by Galán Vioque 2002, 198 (on 7.27.1–4) and by Kay 1985, 217 (on 11.69.3). Neither says anything about the reality of the character, even though Galán Vioque notes that his name, meaning "skilful", "coincides with the role played by the character". To me, there is nothing at all that suggests that this Dexter was a real person (it is all the more surprising to find him included in *PIR*^{2}, D 60), and if he is fictitious, so is his dog.

[58] Galán Vioque 2002, 196 offers both a literal and a metaphoric interpretation of 7.27.

[59] Lattimore 1942, 240 knows only two instances.

[60] See conveniently Kay 1985, 216 for a survey with instances.

tial's Book 11, may point in this direction, unless we reckon with the possibility that Martial actually wrote it in 82 or 83 and then kept it for thirteen years before publishing it when Domitian was dead.[61]

In the case of 6.52, Grewing believes its subject, the barber Pantagathus, to be fictitious "da der *dominus* nicht genannt wirt",[62] but whether or not a slave's master is mentioned in the verses is not a criterion useful for determining whether an epitaph is fictitious or not, nor if its function is purely literary or possibly epigraphical. If this poem had been written to order and cut on a tombstone, a few lines would have been included before (or after) the verses providing the reader with "hard facts", like age, status, and the name of the person who arranged for the stone to be set up. This is where we would have read the name of Pantagathus' *dominus*.

As regards the remaining six poems, any of them may, as far as I can see, theoretically have been written on commission,[63] whether intended or not to be cut on the tombstone of the subject. This assumption is perhaps most valid in the case of 1.116, 7.96 and 11.91, as these epitaphs involve people who do not otherwise occur in the *Epigrams* (thus possibly indicating a one-time contact between poet and a hypothetical purchaser). Weaker, I think, are the cases for 6.28 (Glaucias), 10.53 (Scorpus) and 10.61 (Erotion), and weakest, perhaps, that of Glaucias. His patron was the wealthy Atedius Melior, a man who attracted the notice of both Martial and Statius on several occasions. When his favourite died, there would have been every reason for poets in need of patronage to commemorate him in verse even if they were not explicitly asked to do it.[64] Scorpus was a famous charioteer, which may have been reason enough for Martial to write 10.53 on his death, and it is really unthinkable that the passing away of Erotion, whom I take to have been a real person to whom Martial was sincerely emo-

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[61] Suetonius (3.1) and Dio Cassius (67.3.1) say that Paris had an affair with Domitian's empress Domitia, and Dio claims that Domitian had Paris assassinated because of it; publishing a piece like this would have been impossible while Domitian was still alive.

[62] Grewing 1997, 351 (on 6.52.2).

[63] With the exception, obviously, of 10.61, which is for Martial's own slave girl.

[64] Compare the general remarks about poetical celebrations of important occasions in wealthy households which I have made in "Martial und Statius" in Grewing 1998, 90–1. In the case of Statius' poem on the death of Glaucias (*Silv.* 2.1), the poet more or less tells us in the preface to *Silvae* 2 that he did not write on commission in this case.

tionally attached, should have passed unnoticed in the *Epigrams*. At the same time, it does seem extremely probable that Martial would have written an epitaph for Erotion to be cut on her tombstone; but it is naturally impossible to say if this poem is 10.61. Thus, the question of whether or not some, all or none of Martial's epitaphs were written with a view of being incised on a tombstone is largely speculative, and must be judged with caution. But there is absolutely no reason to bring the speculation to such heights as did Julius Caesar Scaliger, who even claimed to be able to identify poems by Martial's hand among the *carmina epigraphica* (*CIL* 6.18324 and 14.2709).[65]

In conclusion, I hope to have given some insight into the problems involved in classifying the *sepulcralia*, and to have indicated one possible way of defining those epigrams of Martial's that I have called *epitaphia sepulcralia*. If the non-epitaphs had been taken into account, many more instances of epigraphic formulas in Martial's verse would have revealed themselves, and widening the scope beyond the *sepulcralia*, we would have found the sole verbatim quotation in literature of the formula *sit tibi terra leuis*, in the mock-epitaph of the *uetula* Philaenis (9.29.11). It may even be said, with some justification, that the impact of Martial's verse as a whole on the *carmina epigraphica* was hardly less significant than that of the Augustan poets. The possible influence of Martial on a provincial soldier's epitaph such as *CIL* 3.8376a, incidentally goes rather well with a line like *meus in Geticis ad Martia signa pruinis / a rigido teritur centurione liber* (11.3.3–4),[66] and, as it happens, lends some support to his much quoted claim of being known in the whole world, *toto notus in orbe* (1.1.2). Deceptive, perhaps, as most inscriptions postdate Martial's own death, for which he left us no epitaph. But the epigraphic epitaphs are among the earliest proofs of its prophetic value.

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65 See Sullivan, 1991, 53, n. 64.

66 "My book, amid Getic frosts, beside martial standards, is thumbed by the hardy centurion."

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